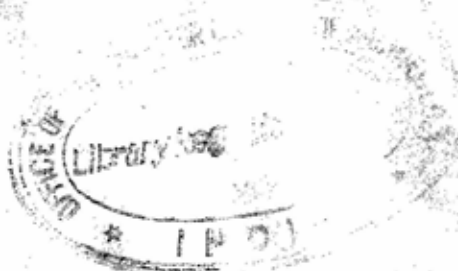


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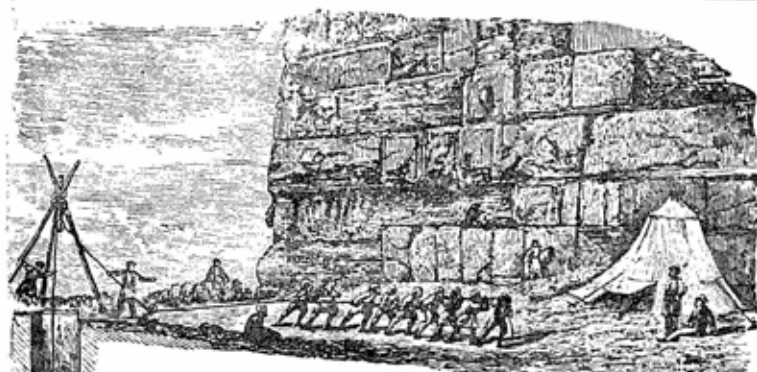
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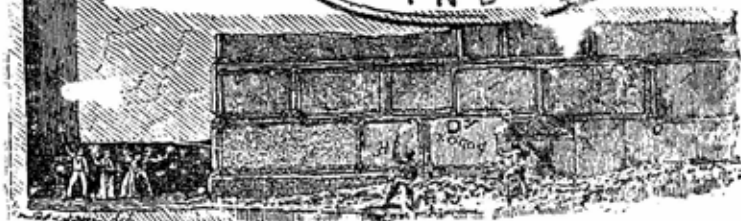
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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

DIED

On the 6th November, 1927

**DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH**

C.M.G., F.B.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
1919—1922.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death, on November 6th, of Dr. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, who served as Chairman of our Executive Committee on the death of Dr. Leonard King, until his resignation, three years later, owing to the heavy demands upon his time in Oxford. Unforeseen circumstances have prevented our publishing a memoir of his work in this number; it will appear in the April issue.

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*Excavations in Ancient Jerusalem.*—Our readers will have studied with interest the reports of Mr. J. W. Crowfoot on the excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley, which were carried out

under his direction during 1927. Thanks to this work, and to the labours of Professor Macalister and Mr. Garrow Duncan in 1923 to 1925, the secrets of the original Jerusalem are gradually being unveiled. But much remains to be done. The work of 1909-11, combined with the P.E.F. excavations just mentioned, give us, in brief, a strip of thoroughly explored territory right across both valleys and the Hill of Ophel; but nothing has been done to the north of this strip until we come to the site of the discovery of the Wall of Ophel by Warren in 1867. There is a large unexplored area in Fields 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and the neighbourhood, and also to the south of the recent trench, which is entirely untouched. The P.E.F. has the right to go on with the work, and the Executive Committee is anxious to continue it, only—there is the question of funds. Sir Charles Marston has most generously expressed his intention of continuing his financial assistance, and the Executive Committee would like to receive subscriptions from others interested in the continuance of the exploration of this exceptionally important site. The Committee feels that unless support of this nature is received, it will be unlikely that any excavations on the site can be carried out during 1928. The Honorary Treasurer will be glad to receive and acknowledge any special subscriptions that may be sent to him for the purpose of enabling the work to be continued in 1928.

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The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem held its Seventh Annual General Meeting, on November 18th, at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, the President, Sir Frederic Kenyon, K.C.B., F.B.A., in the Chair. The School's report was discussed, and Field-Marshal Lord Allenby drew attention to the excellent opportunities Palestine now offered for exploration and excavation. Mr. Crowfoot gave an address on the excavations at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley. For a fuller account of the proceedings, see below, pp. 37 *sqq.*, and for Mr. Crowfoot's report of his work at Jerusalem, see his article, pp. 9 *sqq.*

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"The gift by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of two million dollars for building an archaeological museum in Jerusalem, ranks," says *The Near East* (December 1), "as by far the most notable piece of

news that Palestine has had to report for many years. . . Palestine, of course, badly needs such a museum, though, but for such a wind-fall as the present, there seemed not the remotest hope of its ever getting one. The Department of Antiquities has for years had to struggle along with a perfectly ludicrously tiny budget; its energies and aspirations have from the beginning been confined to the most meagre administrative detail. . . An admirable site has already been sequestered opposite Herod's Gate, known as Karm ash-Shaikh, an unspoiled quarter of the city; half of the gift is to be devoted to building and preliminary equipment and the other half to maintenance; the Antiquities Ordinance provides that the Palestine Government shall have, if it chooses, its half-share of all antiquities discovered and all unique objects; and the present staff, containing such authorities on Muslim art and antiquities as Mr. E. T. Richmond and Dr. L. A. Mayer, is assurance enough that the somewhat neglected page of Christian and Arab Palestinian archaeology will be adequately provided for."

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*The Near East* states that the recent earthquake, which did so much damage in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, may be the source of much improvement in the towns. "More than three hundred old houses, which had become unsafe, have been pulled down in Amman alone, and new ones are being built on more healthy sites on the hills. Roads are being made, and a purer water-supply has been brought to the town by reopening an old pipe-line from Ras al-Ain, the only good spring in the neighbourhood. The stream Zarka (the Jabbok of the Old Testament), which runs through Amman, though used as drinking-water, is totally unfit for the purpose."

---

The same journal reports that excavations are being made, for the first time in history, in the ancient citadel of Amman. The work is being carried out by an Italian archaeological society. "Trans-Jordan has been greatly opened up, of late years, to tourists, and its antiquities, little known before the war, are becoming famous. There is hardly a village in Trans-Jordan which does not contain treasure for the archaeologist. The two best-known ruined cities, Jerash, which, like Amman, was one of the towns of the Decapolis, and Petra, are now quite accessible, as Messrs. Cook and Son, Ltd.,



arrange parties to both places, and, during the tourist season, run a camp at Petra. Unfortunately, in summer the heat is too great to travel in comfort, and during the rains the roads are impassable, so that the season is confined to a few weeks before Christmas, and to March, April, and the first part of May, when the rains have ceased and the summer heat has not begun."

---

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt dealing with that Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

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**Subscribers in the United States** are asked to kindly note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. W. M. Randall, of 55, Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

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*Antiques for Sale.*—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

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The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923-25, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2s. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Professor Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1-212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4s. bound in cloth, and 2s. 6d. in paper covers.

The new plan of Jerusalem, on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5s.; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9s. The latter form is the more convenient, as, owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 6 *sq.*

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions towards the Ophel excavations from:—

	£	s.	d.
Sir Charles Marston ... ..	400	0	0
James Melrose, Esq. ... ..	20	0	0
Herbert Bentwich, Esq., LL.B. ...	1	1	0
William Bramwell, Esq. ... ..	1	1	0
F. W. Green, Esq. ... ..	1	1	0
Ernest Rabone, Esq. ... ..	1	1	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn., U.S.A.

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The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

*The Near East.*

*The Expository Times.*

*Annals of Art and Archaeology*, University of Liverpool, October :  
Caucasian seals, by A. Zakharof ; Oxford excavations in Nubia,  
by F. Ll. Griffith.

*New Judaea.*

*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, October : The name and  
legends of the Jordan, by Eb. Hommel ; Isaiah and the siege of  
Jerusalem, by H. M. Wiener, etc.

*American Journal of Philology.*

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, October.

*Homiletic Review.*

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, September : Notes on Egypto-  
Semitic Etymology, by W. F. Albright ; the laws of deposit in  
early Babylonia and the O.T., by Ira M. Price.

*American Geographical Review*, July : The templed promontories of  
the ancient Mediterranean, by Ellen C. Semple.

*Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania*, September : Sumerian  
Sculptures, by L. Legrain.

*Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, November : Part II  
of the Bulletin, September : The exploration of a Crusaders'  
fortress (Montfort) in Palestine, by Bashford Dean.

*The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali.* By Aapeli Saarisalo. Helsingfors, 1927.

*Journal Asiatique.*

*Revue Biblique*, October: Mandaean gnosis, by M.-J. Lagrange; the third wall of Jerusalem, by H. Vincent; epigraphical gleanings, by M. Abel; the recent earthquake in Palestine, by the same.

*Syria*, 1927, III: Stone idols from Cappadocia, by G. Contenau; excavations at Nerab by the French Archaeological School of Jerusalem, by Carrière and Barrois, with a note on the cuneiform tablets by Dhorme; new information on Palestine and Syria, c. 2000 B.C., by Dussaud.

*Biblica*, 1927, 4: The Gadd chronicle and sacred writ, by B. Alfrink; "dresser of sycomore trees" (Amos vii, 14), by L. Keimer; chronicle of the excavations in Palestine (Ophel and Tell en-Nasbeh), by A. Mallon.

*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, I., heft i: Palestinian musical instruments, by Sachse; Antipater dux Palaestinae, by A. Alt; the metallurgy of Jewish coins, by Ad. Reifenberg. Heft ii: Excavation of Shechem (spring, 1927), by E. Sellin; the crownlands of the Israelite kings, by M. Noth; locusts in Palestine, by S. Krauss.

*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, October: Habiru and Hebrews, by Julius Lewy. November: Aphrodite Paraklyptusa, by A. Herbig.

*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*: Articles on the Philistines by Galling, and on Horse, Plough, Phoenicia, Ships, etc., by P. Thomsen.

*Archiv für Orientforschung.*

*Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1927, III: The tower of Babel, by E. Unger; the Passover in the cult of the Temple of Jerusalem, by N. M. Nicolsky; note on the meaning of the title Hyksos, by A. Alt; survey of literature, etc.

*Bible Lands*, October: Earthquakes in Palestine (illustrated).

*Al-Mashrik*, September: "Silver Anniversary Number." The most ancient history of Beirut and Lebanon, by P. L. Cheikho; an excursion in Kisrawan, by A. Antoine Chibli, etc. [continued in the following numbers].

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ.

Presented by Mr. E. J. Pilcher:—

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1927.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener*.

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

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#### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.

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## EXCAVATIONS IN THE TYROPOEON VALLEY.

By J. W. CROWFOOT, C.B.E., M.A.,

Director, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

(*Preliminary note.*—This sketch of the history of the accumulations in the Tyropoeon valley must be regarded as provisional. The classification of the smaller finds, with the exception of the coins, has not yet been completed, and it is hoped that this, when completed, will throw fresh light on some of the darker stages described in the following note, and possibly modify some of our conclusions.)

I.—*Introductory.*

It is unfortunate, perhaps, that we use the same word when we speak of the valley of the Kedron, the valley of Gehinnom, and the valley of the Tyropoeon. The first two are deep ravines which hem three sides of the *massif* on which Jerusalem is built: the Tyropoeon is a fold or depression between the different hills which rise from this *massif*, and there are places where the depression is not easy to trace under the accumulations of the ages. The main line of the Tyropoeon which runs south from the Damascus gate is still called the Valley road, the Darb el Wādi, and this section is clear enough: so too is its chief tributary from the Jaffa gate, but in other parts, notably at the south-west corner of the Haram, where Sir Charles Warren found the bed of the valley more than 80 feet below the surface, it is quite impossible to recognize any valley at all. If the reader will stand in imagination on the wall of Jerusalem, with his back to the city, a few yards south of Sir Charles Warren's line, he will see stretched before his eyes the lower part of the Tyropoeon and the ridge of the city of David. The ground falls away in two directions: there is a steady fall from the heights of Mount Sion on the west to the ravine of the Kedron on the east, and a second fall from north to south, from the walls to the Pool of Siloam about a quarter of a mile away; but close to the walls the line of the Tyropoeon between Mount Sion and David's ridge is imperceptible, and it is only as it draws further away from the city that the valley is again clearly marked.

The whole stretch outside the walls, from the lower slopes of Mount Sion to the crest above the Kedron, and from the walls to the Pool of Siloam, is covered by a series of terraced fields where the natives of Silwan grow vegetables for the Jerusalem market, and the only buildings visible are the modest sheds and shanties which the cultivators erect in the corners of their plots. Through the middle of this area a path leads between low stone walls to the Pool and the well in the valley beyond, but, though it serves the same purpose as a number of ancient roads before it, this path does not correspond exactly to any ancient line, nor does it follow the original western crest of the ridge of the city of David: it is a relatively recent creation like the terraced fields on either side of it. Indeed, except where the rocks stick out, the whole configuration of the land which meets the eye is recent in date.

At present the fields are planted with vegetables which are watered with a brown and odorous fluid that is drawn off a Turkish (?) drain, which carries the sewage of Jerusalem across the valley and the city of David, and finally discharges into the Kedron what is not tapped on the way. This fluid is conducted in open channels through the fields or down the path, and distributed in strict rotation so as to give each plot a thorough drenching once a week during the dry summer months. Some of the people also fill up cisterns from the same source, so that they can water their seed-plots more often. The actual cultivation and marketing of the crops are largely in the hands of the women, and when the men do any work on the land it is generally under the direction of their womenfolk, but it is impossible to engage any girls as basket-carriers on an excavation: this is work for men and boys only. On the valley side of the path several of the fields belong to the heirs of the Abū Saūd, with whom Sir Charles Warren had dealings in old days, and are let to the natives of Silwan, who own most, or all, of the land on the other side.

The field we selected for our operations was part of the Abū Saūd estate; it lay about 120 metres south of the city wall, and due west of a field excavated by Mr. Duncan in the last expedition sent out by the Palestine Exploration Fund (Field No. 7). It was crossed by the sewer at the north-east corner, and there was a well-mouth which led into a Byzantine cistern about half-way down the east side close to the path, but these were the only serious obstacles, and there was room for a 20-metre trench between them. The field

was larger than most and reached right across the valley, so it seemed likely to serve our purpose. Our object was to find out all we could of the history of the growth of the Tyropoeon valley in this section. Long ago Sir Charles Warren sank a series of shafts across the valley near the south-west corner of the Haram, and some thirty years ago Messrs. Bliss and Dickie sank a similar series of shafts across the valley south of us. Thanks to the splendid work of these explorers, the general contour of the rock underlying the valley is accurately known, and there was no evident advantage in sinking another series of shafts across the valley to get a third contour line intermediate between theirs. It was our object to discover by means of an open trench the mutual relations of the different strata which lay between the rock and the surface, an object which could not be achieved by means of the shafts and tunnels with which our predecessors had been obliged to content themselves. It is not an easy task to dig a trench some 50 feet deep in a field which only measures about half an acre, and we were not able to go as far across the valley, or to keep our trench as wide, or to see as much of the rock, as we should have liked, but we were able to obtain a tolerably clear idea of some of the main stages in the formation of the valley.

In the north of Jerusalem, as in so many other places, fields and olive-yards are now vanishing beneath a network of streets and houses. In the south it is interesting to trace the converse process, the development of a series of market-gardens in an area which was once very heavily urbanized. The present immunity of this area is due, I think, to two causes—the character of the Silwanis who own the land and the unsavoury effluvia from the sewer through which they exploit it, but it is none the less a godsend to archaeologists; it makes excavation possible, and without excavation there is little hope of understanding the past history of Jerusalem.

## II.—*The First Stage.* (Plates I and II.)

In the beginning the Tyropoeon valley was a rocky fold between two ridges, the central channel was as clearly marked here as elsewhere, and we found a few great natural boulders still lying in the bed of the valley beneath 40 or 50 feet of accumulations.

The first great change in the profile of the valley was made when the two massive towers, described in the last Q.S., were built to defend the west gate of the citadel on the ridge. These towers were

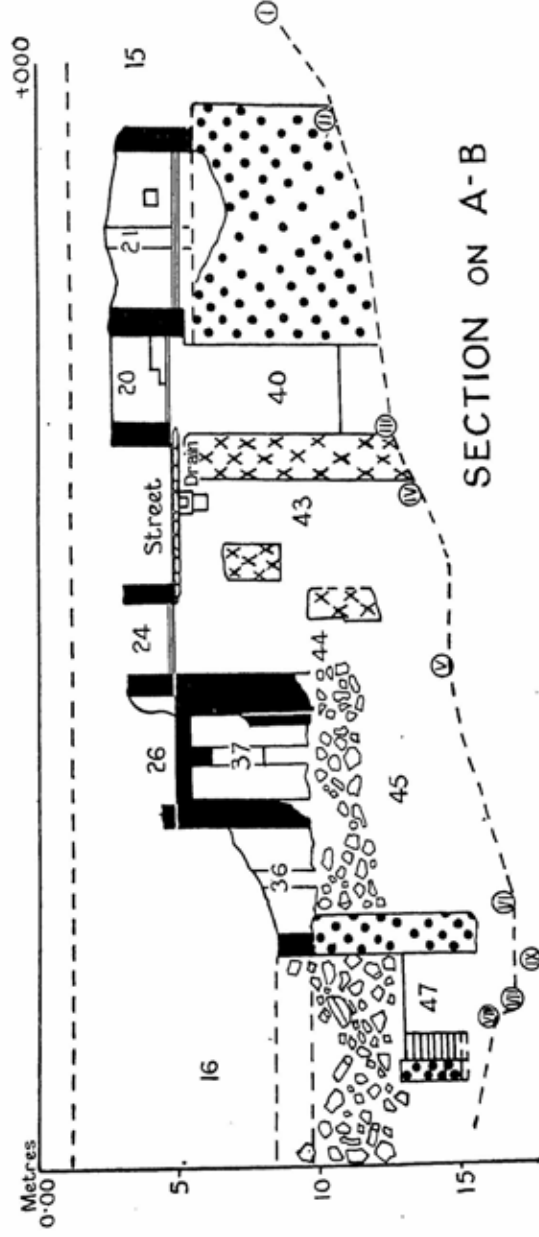
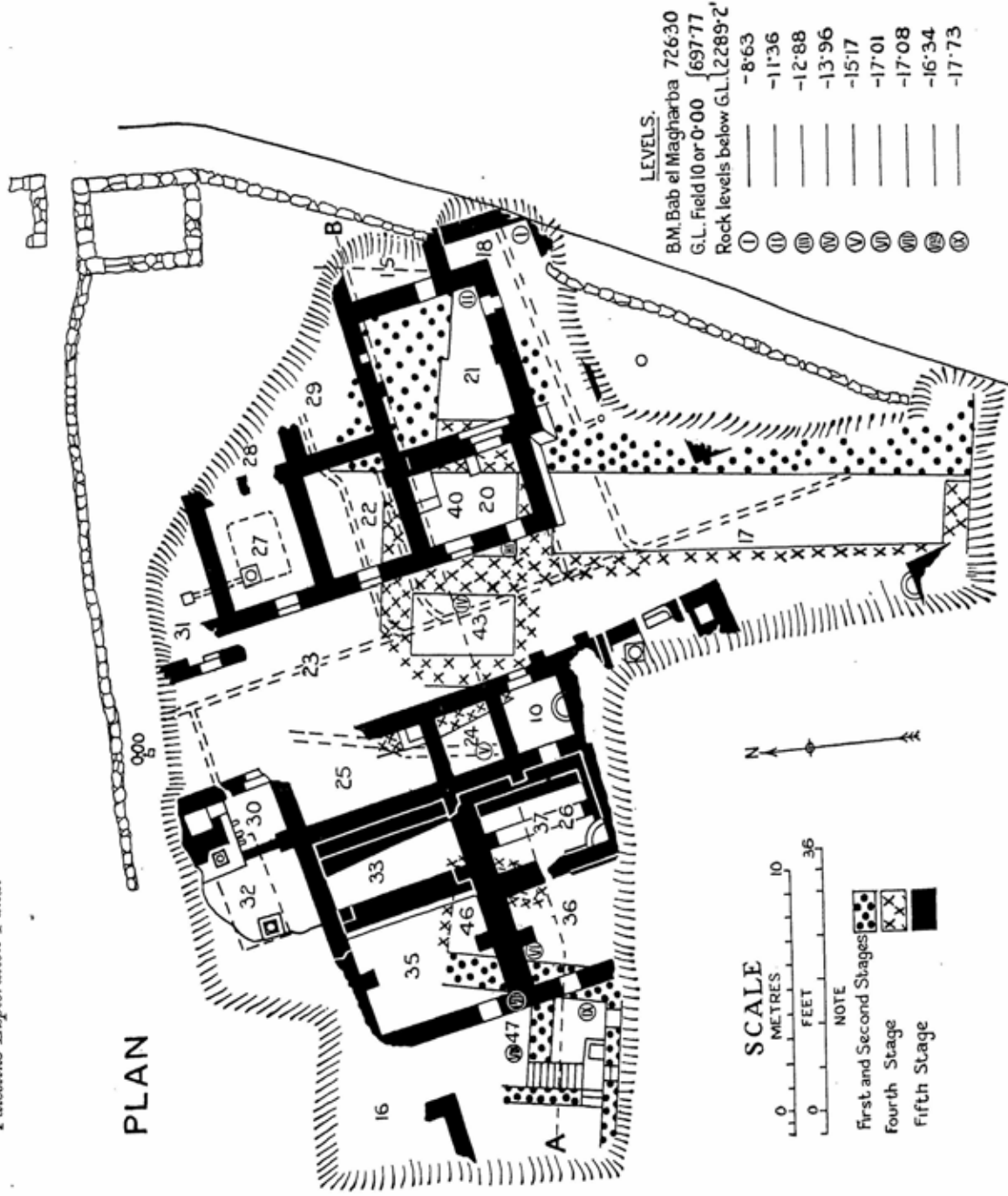


found on the very edge of our ground. To find the east face of the north tower we were obliged to open a trench in the path, and the east face of the south tower, if it is preserved, must cross the path and enter the field on the opposite side, which was excavated by Mr. Duncan. To understand the position which the towers occupied in the valley, we must first get some idea of what Mr. Duncan found in the west half of Field 7. Mr. Duncan has very courteously placed at my disposal an unpublished report of his work in this section, which has made the position much clearer to me than either the letterpress or the plates in *Annual*, No. IV. Mr. Duncan's work in the upper part of this section was hampered by the sewer and the modern buildings which are indicated on Plate XI, and by a Byzantine cistern which is not shown. In the lower half, that is, in the south-west corner of the field, there were no such obstacles, and here all along this section he discovered an abrupt drop of some 10 feet in the level of the rock, which he rightly interpreted as the true beginning of the Tyropoeon valley. This abrupt drop ran, so far as I can make out, from 3 metres to 4 metres east of the point in the middle of the path where we found the rock at a depth of 8.63 metres below our ground-level, a figure which corresponds closely with Mr. Duncan's figure of 23 feet below the surface of Field 7 at that spot.<sup>1</sup>

By combining Mr. Duncan's data with the levels shown on our plan we can reconstruct without much difficulty the conditions which the Jebusites, or their predecessors about the beginning, say, of the second millennium B.C., found on the east side of the Tyropoeon and

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Mr. H. C. Gill, A.M.I.C.E., of the Public Works Department in Jerusalem, for the plan and section attached to this paper. The ground-level (G.L.) in the middle of the north side of the field was connected with the Bench Mark of the Survey Department on the south wall of the Babel Magharba, and all the levels on our plan are levels below this G.L. The surface of the field has a fall to the south of about 1 in 11, and allowance must be made for this fall before comparing our levels with those of Mr. Duncan, which were measured from the local surface. For example, our level I, which is 8.63 metres, is about 16.50 metres south of our G.L. For comparative purposes about 1.50 metres should accordingly be deducted from our figure, which thus becomes 7.13 metres, or a few inches higher than Mr. Duncan's nearest measurement, which was 23 feet. It will be observed from comparing our plan with our section that our rock-levels were not taken exactly on the line of the section, and the rock-line shown on the section, therefore, has only an average diagrammatic value.

# PLAN





3.50 metres in this direction, but at this point we were more than half across the path and approaching land over which we had no rights.

The width of the gateway between the two towers was 3.50 metres, and, as a glance at the photographs shows (*see* Plates I and II), the surface of the rock is much too irregular to have formed the roadway even in the earliest times. There was, of course, no trace of any street-paving, for paving is rare even in the Hellenistic period, when towns like Miletus, Antioch, and Alexandria were not paved at all (Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 1927, p. 254). I imagine that there was a metre at least of accumulation round the towers when they were built, and that the road led to the higher level under the cliff on a gradient of about 1 in 5. We found, however, no convincing evidence on this point, because the ground in question had been disturbed right down to the rock by the intrusion of late walls in the Byzantine period. In this disturbed area we found a hoard of more than 300 Maccabean coins about a metre above the rock, but there were also some potsherds, fragments of ledge-handled ware, for example, which may go back to the Middle Bronze Age, when the walls were first built. In the valley beyond, even in the lowest strata, we found no pottery earlier than the Hebrew monarchy, so it is possible, as Mr. FitzGerald has suggested to me, that the ground in front of the gate was kept clear for defensive purposes in the early period; there was probably enough soil already in the valley to enable the people to raise a crop of barley.

The walls of the towers when we came upon them were still standing to a height of more than 6 metres above the rock, and originally they were no doubt much higher. This great mass of rubble masonry accounts for two-thirds of the accumulation which has gathered at this point between the rock and the present surface level, and the fallen debris from the upper courses has supplied much of the filling on the lower slopes. In the history of the formation of the valley, therefore, the work of the Bronze Age has played a very significant part. This significance is not to be estimated only in terms of the cubic mass assembled at this time. The gate, like so many gates in other old towns, had a very long life; it remained in being probably till the time of Titus, certainly till the time of the later Maccabees. Most of the facing visible may belong to the time of Nehemiah, but it would be premature to discuss the bearing of

the later repairs on the question of the southern city wall or the site of the Akra, before a subsequent campaign has thrown further light on the walls to which they belonged.

### III.—*The Second Stage.* (Plate III.)

We found no buildings in the valley which could be attributed to the time of the Hebrew monarchy, but in the lower strata there was plenty of pottery of this time, especially lamp-bases and figurines, and three heads of Astarte in earthenware. The gate, as we have already seen, continued in being throughout this time, and its existence is sufficient to account for what we found. We discovered, however, signs that there was much more life in this neighbourhood during the Hellenistic and early Roman times. Our excavation covered a much smaller area than that of Messrs. Macalister and Duncan, and we did not find nearly so many Rhodian jar-handles as they did, but there was a considerable number of them. Still more significant is our list of coins. Mr. Lambert has identified, besides two large Maccabean hoards, 132 separate coins which are earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. All but about 10 per cent. of these were found in the lower levels, and the chronological distribution of them is interesting:—

Hellenistic kings	...	...	...	...	12
Maccabean	...	...	...	...	58
Herodian and Roman procurators	...	...	...	...	39
First revolt (A.D. 67-69)	...	...	...	...	23

These figures show how much movement there was in this part of Jerusalem between about 150 B.C. and A.D. 70.

There is some reason for assigning to the latter half of this period, perhaps to the reign of Herod the Great, the fine paved street which was discovered lower down in the valley by Bliss and Dickie. This street was set out above the western of the two drains which came down the valley from the upper city, and, therefore, in our field must have run along the west side of the valley, though Bliss and Dickie failed to find traces of the street in the shaft (O<sup>3</sup>) which they sank here (*Excavations in Jerusalem*, p. 142). The construction of this street is another indication of the importance of this district at the time.

In the very middle of the valley, 20 metres west of the gate, we came upon remains of what may have been a house or palace of

considerable size. The east wall of this house was more than a metre thick and was standing to a height of 5 metres from the bottom of the foundations. We found doorways on two stories and interpreted the two lower doors, which are shown on Plate III (also on Plate IV in *Q.S.* for October, 1927), as doors into cellars. These two doors were approached by a flight of nine steps, and on the level from which the steps descended we found a third door in the south-east corner of the house which may have opened into an atrium. The upper floor of this house was 40 feet below the surface, and, as it lay at the extreme end of our trench, we could excavate only a fraction of the whole; but it certainly belonged to the Hellenistic or the Herodian period, and it was set out approximately on the same axis as the drain and may have fronted on the paved street. The remains of this house are yet another witness to the importance of the region at this time. They show that it was apparently a good residential quarter, and their bulk has contributed materially towards filling up the centre of the valley. The top of the east wall of the house stands 7 metres above the lowest rock-level we found, and, if we are right in regarding the lowest rooms as subterranean cellars, the occupation-level was then about 4 metres above the rock. We may consider this, therefore, as marking a second stage in the history of the valley.

#### IV.—*The Third Stage.* (Plate III.)

We know from Josephus that our region was devastated during the siege of Titus, and the stratum of utter destruction which we found in the middle of the valley suggests that the historian's description of the havoc wrought at this period was not in any way exaggerated. Before we reached the flight of steps and the doorways mentioned in the last section, we had to work our way painfully through a zone of tumbled stones which looked more like the boulders in the bed of a mountain-torrent than any work of the hands of man. Sir Charles Warren describes a similar experience in one of the shafts which he sank near the Antonia. After passing through more than 17 feet of soil, which was black and firm and good to work in, exactly like the upper strata in our trench, he came to a belt of stones without earth, which lasted for the next 13 feet 6 inches, and was "very dangerous and difficult" (*Jerusalem*, p. 131). Messrs. Bliss and Dickie also use the last adjective to describe their work above the

paved street in a shaft at L<sup>3</sup>, which was "very difficult, as the street was completely blocked by stones evidently fallen from houses on either side" (*Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 141). Some idea of the appearance of this zone in our field may be obtained from Plate III in this number and from Plates II and IV in the October number of this journal. It will be seen that we had to shore up the side of our trench before we could work in the lower levels. The most curious feature about this stratum was that observed also by Warren, the absence of any packing of soil between the stones.

The towers were now destroyed and the debris from the upper courses flung down into the valley and the gateway. The gate, which for some time had ceased to be a city gate, was henceforth blocked, first by debris and then by later constructions. Of the house in the middle of the valley the east wall was still standing, considerably higher, perhaps, than it was when we unearthed it. Round about it we found a large capital, some fragments with good Hellenistic mouldings, and parts of the shafts of three or four columns, but there was nothing to show whether they had belonged to this house or not. Between the house and the gate-towers we found no constructions which were certainly earlier than the siege, though small finds of the Hellenistic period and earlier had been noted all along the lower levels.

How long did the valley remain derelict? It is extremely difficult, as we shall see in the following section, to date the next traces of building activity which we found, and the clearest evidence bearing on this question is to be found in the chronological distribution of the coins which Mr. Lambert has prepared. As we mentioned above, 23 coins dating from the First Revolt in the years A.D. 67 to 69 were found; of the years from A.D. 69 to 198 there were only two possible coins, one of them probably of Trajan, the other doubtful. In the third century there are only seven coins dating from before the year A.D. 270. After the accession of Aurelian (A.D. 270) coins become rather more numerous, and there are over 30 coins from the next 70 years. These statistics are very striking, but they are not inconsistent with what we know about Jerusalem from other sources. Jerusalem had fallen at this time to the rank of a second-rate, or even a third-rate, military station, and after the Second Revolt in the time of Hadrian no Jews were allowed to enter the city. Some building activity, of course, there was in connection with the

foundation of Aelia Capitolina, and there is a mention of a chapel to Fortune or the Nymphs at Siloam which must have been built in this period (Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, pp. 859, 880), but, apart from this, such life as there was in the city seems to have shifted largely to other quarters. Père Vincent has attempted recently to connect the remains of "Robinson's wall," which have been excavated by Dr. Sukenek, with the rising of Bar Kokba, and if this identification is established, it would be evidence of just such a shifting of the population from the ruin-fields of old Jerusalem as the conditions on our site and the statistics of our coin-list seem to suggest.

V.—*The Fourth Stage.* (Plates I and IV.)

With the conversion of Constantine the position of Jerusalem was profoundly changed; it became the religious centre of the Christian empire, it was thronged with pilgrims from far and near, and the next three centuries were times of brilliant prosperity. The town naturally tended to spread in all directions, and our valley in particular, which had lain desolate for so long, became again a centre of urban life. The whole valley was again included in the city walls when the Empress Eudocia, who lived in Jerusalem from A.D. 444 to 460, restored the old line in the south, which goes back at least to the time of Herod. To judge from our coin-list, the revival of building in the valley began before the time of Constantine, but the period of greatest activity falls in the reigns of Justinian and his successors in the latter half of the 6th century. It is, however, impossible to date the earlier remains of this period at all closely, because the later builders, as so often happens, made such a clean sweep of the work of their immediate predecessors. All we can do at present is to catalogue the various steps which were taken to create a new order out of the chaos of destruction which we described in the last section.

When the builders in this period first turned their attention to this part of the valley, they must have found two great heaps of tumbled masonry before them. In the middle of the valley there was a pile of ruinous building material, 3 metres or 4 metres thick at least, round the east wall of 47 (*see* Plan and Section), and reaching across, perhaps, to the line of Bliss and Dickie's paved street on the west slope, which was also buried under a pile of debris. On the east there was a much higher pile, which climbed up from the valley-bed to the top of the ruins of the old towers and descended again a little, perhaps,



behind them. Some little soil or refuse had accumulated on each of the ruin-heaps, but it would be difficult to imagine a site which was less attractive, and the fact that it was built upon is an index of the pressure of population.

The next remains which we found in the middle of the valley were a revetment-wall, built apparently to hold back the debris from the towers, and a cistern. The cistern, a view of which may be seen in Plate II of the *Q.S.* for October, 1927, was built against the east side of the east wall of 47, in the middle of a mass of debris from the house to which 47 belonged. Some very large stones were used in the construction of this cistern, some of them dressed with a broad-edged adze. The stones were laid in a mortar of ashes and lime, and the inside of the cistern was rendered over with the same mixture. No trace of the roof of the cistern remained, this having been entirely destroyed by the later buildings. Nor was there any trace of any wall of a house to which the cistern might have belonged.

The revetment-wall a few metres east of the cistern is equally puzzling. We call it a "revetment-wall" because it only had one face, which was on the west side, and because it obviously served to hold up the bank east of it, but we cannot be sure it was built for this purpose. It was constructed of re-used material like that employed in parts of the cistern.

The remains of this stage on the east side of the valley are rather more intelligible. Although here, too, the whole superstructure has disappeared, the foundations are sufficiently extensive to show that they belonged to something bigger than a private dwelling (see Plate IV). The building here planned was at least 25 metres long and ran roughly parallel with the old towers, which the builders determined to use exactly as the constructors of the cistern had used the old house-wall. Where the road formerly ran between the towers, the debris was evidently loose and dangerous, as it still is, and here a wall 2 metres thick was carried right down to the rock between the towers. This was the foundation of the east side of room 40. The ground in front of the towers, which had once been a road also, was equally dangerous, and the south and west walls of 40 were also carried down to rock (Plate I); the north wall stopped 2 metres short of it. West of 40, the revetment-wall mentioned in the last paragraph improved the position, and the walls of the next room (43) were not sunk nearly so deep. The middle wall between

40 and 43 was prolonged south as far as the end of the south tower. This shows, not less than the size of the foundations, what an important building this was, but, as not a vestige of the superstructure was left, we can say no more about it.

This stage occupies an important place in the history of the valley, but its very success in preparing the ground for the next stage has deprived us of all knowledge about its character and date.

#### VI.—*The Fifth Stage.* (Plates V and VI.)

The buildings of the obscure intermediate fourth stage with which we have been just dealing stood on two different levels; the top of the cistern hardly rises above 10 metres on the vertical scale shown in our section; the floors of rooms 40 and 43 must have been little, if at all, below the 5-metre level, a difference of some 5 metres in altitude which is largely accounted for by the remains of the Bronze Age on the east side of the valley. So far as our evidence goes, there was an unbridged gap between the east wall of the house to which the cistern belonged (which we could not find) and the west wall of 43. The former existence of this gap is confirmed by the presence of a slope of debris covered with a deposit of soil which reached down to the lower level across the top of the old revetment-wall below 43. In the stage with which we are now concerned two great changes were made; the buildings were set out on an entirely new axis, and the gap was filled in so that the whole eastern side of the valley could be treated as a unit.

In the previous stage, as we have seen, the builders, wherever possible, utilized pre-existing works; they built room 40 against the towers and the cistern against the west wall of 47. Their buildings, therefore, were set out necessarily on the same axis, which was roughly the natural axis of the valley at this point and the line consequently also followed by the old drains found by our predecessors.<sup>1</sup> The later engineers laid out a street along a new alignment which led more directly, as it appears, from west of the Temple precincts towards the Pools of Siloam and the road to the wilderness

<sup>1</sup> The eastern drain from the north, which is shown on the plan compiled by Sir Charles Close for *Annual*, IV, was traced by Warren as far as the field immediately north of that in which we were working, but it must have been diverted probably to the west near the last point at which it was seen by Warren, as we found no trace of it in our excavation.

of Judaea, where the monastery of S. Saba now stands. The new street, as our plan shows, cut diagonally across the earlier room 43, and the change explains why the later builders were unable to incorporate any of the old walls in their work and had to destroy them completely. It is interesting to note also that the new alignment was the first tentative step in the direction of the existing drainage system, to which the sewer which crosses our field belongs. Like the sewer, the new alignment ignored the line of the Tyropoeon and cut straight across the east ridge.

The filling of the gap between the two groups of building and the unification of new structures above them in a single scheme was carried out in a simple, rational, and satisfying way. In the middle of the valley on the lower level a series of rooms with arched roofs, some 4 metres high, was built. The arches ran north and south, and the east wall of the rooms, which had to resist the pressure of the filling of the gap, was built more than a metre thick. The empty space between this wall and 43, which was at the bottom only about 2 metres wide, was filled, presumably with debris from the upper parts of 43, up to the level of the tops of the new arched rooms, and a second series of rooms was built on this new level, opening to the east upon a new high-level street on the new alignment (see Plates V and VI). This is the street of which a description and views were published in the July, 1927, number of the *Q.S.* A view of one of the supporting arches, the only one which survived to our time, was published on Plate I in the October, 1927, number. The great wall, which formed the east wall of the rooms on the low-level, was the key of the whole fabric, and it was quite different in construction from any of the earlier walls we had found. It was constructed of large undressed blocks and smaller spall; of hard stone laid in a thick bed of earth mortar; the two sides of the wall were brought to a good even face, and, though there was little sign of coursing on the outside, the stones had been built in regular horizontal bands of masonry, as we discovered when we took the wall to pieces. The only walls like it in our field were the foundations under the walls in the rooms on the east side of the street, which stood in the debris in, and behind (east of), the old Bronze Age gateway, which was evidently not yet consolidated. The deep, thick foundations in this spot were in curious contrast to the procedure of the same builders in

other parts of the site. In some of the rooms the walls, even external walls, had no foundation at all, the bottom courses being laid on the paving-stones of the street and, apparently, without disastrous consequences, for some of these walls without foundations were standing quite as well as those with. Obviously the Byzantine builders were well aware of the character of the ground; they constructed a solid platform for the whole scheme, street and houses, by means of a network of walls, new and old, and then in particular houses economized wherever it was possible.

Such was the scheme, but, in consequence of faulty construction, perhaps, or an earthquake, or some other catastrophe, three out of four of the arches in the low-level rooms collapsed, bringing down of necessity the rooms above them. The level of the lower rooms was raised nearly a metre by the fallen debris. The great central wall was buttressed. The one room where the arch had not fallen (37) was filled up to the roof with stones, and a space (33), north of 37, was enclosed by a wall built on the new level of fallen debris and filled up solid to the street-level. A weathering off-set on the exposed face of the new wall in 33 shows that the roof of 35 was not rebuilt, and 36 also perhaps remained in the same condition. As the result of these reconstructions the original scheme lost one of its most ambitious and attractive features, but the stability of the street and the houses on it was assured.

Several small objects in metal and earthenware were found on the street-level, but so little is known at present about the development of the humbler arts and crafts in the Byzantine period that we shall turn again to the coin-list for evidence on the date of this stratum. Under the mosaic floor of room 10 a coin of Justinus I (A.D. 518-527) was found, and the coins which are most characteristic of the street-level are those of Justinian and his successors in the latter half of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th centuries; 71 coins of the period from Anastasius I (A.D. 491-518) to Constans II (A.D. 641-668) were found, one only of which had intruded into the lower levels, so the evidence seems fairly conclusive. The street belongs to the last century of Byzantine rule in Jerusalem, a date which is consistent with what we know from other sources of the history of the city, and, I think, with the character of the building, the irregular extrados of the arch, for example.

VII.—*The Sixth Stage.*

Jerusalem was captured and sacked by the Persians in May, 614; in A.D. 627 the Persians evacuated Palestine, but the Byzantine restoration was short-lived, and in February, 638, Jerusalem surrendered to the Muslims under Omar. There was a great difference between the two conquests. The Persians took the city by storm, as fire-worshippers they had no regard for the Holy places, and thousands of Christians were massacred by them or deported. To the Muslims, on the other hand, Jerusalem was a Holy city; they had long been in close relations with the native Christians, and the place capitulated without striking a blow. On general grounds therefore, it would be reasonable to attribute to the Persians the destruction and consequent desertion of the Byzantine quarter in the Tyropoeon valley, which forms the next stage in our story. We found, however, 9 coins of Constans II, so, whatever it suffered, it cannot have been entirely deserted, and there is reason to believe that the valley remained within the circuit of the city walls for two or three centuries longer (Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*. II, p. 940).

None the less, the glory had departed, the population dwindled, and the present surface-contour of the valley was the result of operations which were carried out probably in the early Arab period.

Even after the last reconstruction in the Byzantine period there was a drop of more than 3 metres in the middle of the valley from the level of the street to that of the new or second low-level Byzantine buildings. The next stage is concerned with the filling of this central trough and the gradual raising of the whole surface-level. The trough was reduced a little by debris from the buildings on the west side of the street which fell into ruin, presumably, during the 7th century, for a sloping line of stones led down to the low Byzantine level from the houses above. This line, of course, shows that there was a time when the street was in ruins and the trough was still in existence, though slightly reduced. Now, as may be seen in the photographs of the west end of our excavation (Plates I and II, Q.S. for October, 1927), there was no trace of any building whatever above the low Byzantine level until we were quite near the surface. The low Byzantine level was about 8.50 metres below G.L. on our vertical scale, in the next 6 metres upwards there was nothing, at 2.50 metres there was some walling at the north side of our pit, and at 1.50 metres some more at the south-west corner.

The whole trough, therefore, was filled some time after the street had been ruined and before the walls on the 2·50-metre level were constructed. We suggest that a filling of these dimensions, 6 metres thick, cannot be the result of the working of undirected natural agencies. It was, we suggest, the result of the regular deposition of rubbish here during the Arab period. The mounds of refuse which the mediaeval scavengers heaped outside Cairo and other oriental cities are well known. Jerusalem is a hilly place, and it is more sensible here to fill in the numerous natural depressions, as is being done to-day, than to form a chain of midden-heaps like those round the cities of the plains. The colour and consistency of the soil in the filling corroborates this explanation. It is very even in consistency, and, though dark in colour, unlike the yellowish soil on the neighbouring hill-sides, it is not so black as the soil immediately under a level of occupation or cultivation, which is more heavily charged with organic matter.

Thanks to the process we have described, the builders of the new walls on the 2-2·50-metre level found conditions in the valley much as they are to-day; the ground sloped from north to south and needed terracing, but from east to west there was a tolerably level stretch some 70 metres wide from the eastern ridge to the rocky slope of Mount Sion. The Byzantine street was a thing of the past; it lay buried under 4 feet or 5 feet of rubbish, and one of the new-comers built a house of some pretensions right across it, facing south. This house was moderately well set out. Some squared stones, taken, no doubt, from the Byzantine houses beneath, were used in its construction, and at least one of the rooms was roofed with an arch. Contact was preserved with the old cisterns by adding extensions to the well-heads so as to bring them up to the new level. The objects which come from this stratum seem to indicate that there was no great break with the past in the lesser crafts, but the coin-list shows beyond shadow of doubt that there was a grievous decline in prosperity—one Byzantine coin of the 9th century and one Crusader coin of the 12th century are all that we have to fill the gap between Constans II (A.D. 641-668) and the Mamluk dynasties.

These were the conditions at the north end of our field. At the south end there seems to have been less accumulation above the street. The new arrivals built directly on the street-level and destroyed their predecessors' houses much more completely. It is

possible that there was a terrace-wall between the two groups of buildings or they may not be quite contemporaneous—we cannot say.

Just as these builders had destroyed the houses immediately below them in search for building material, their houses in turn were destroyed by the next occupants. The walls of the house at the north end of the field are all shaved off evenly about a metre above floor-level to make way for a new generation. In places the walls of this latest occupation rose to within a foot of the modern surfaces. They were badly constructed, mostly of unhewn blocks, but they still maintained touch with the Byzantine cisterns. A few rather interesting fragments of Mamluk pottery may belong to this period.

During both these periods of occupation it would seem that conditions were what they are at present. The land must have been terraced in some way, and the houses we have just described were the houses of cultivators, built, like the modern huts and shelters, irrespective of one another, wherever it suited the individual proprietor. Between the latter of these two periods and the present day, contact with all except one of the four old cisterns in our field was lost. There was nothing to indicate where the path down the valley ran after the disappearance of the street, but it cannot have followed the present line, for one of the later houses encroached on this.

#### VIII.—*Conclusion.*

From the foregoing it appears that some stages in the history of this section of the valley are not very difficult to unravel. Objects and walls lie together in an intelligible order, and where late objects have been found in the lower strata a reason for the occurrence is not, as a rule, far to seek.

In the beginning the centre of tribal life was close to the Virgin's well, and the Jebusites or their predecessors were obliged to encroach on the valley in very early days. In the Iron Age, the time of the Hebrew monarchy, some rubbish of the period was thrown into the valley, though the centre of life had shifted north. A great renewal of activity came with the prosperity of the later Maccabeans and Herodians, and it is to this age that the paved road on the west side of the valley is probably to be referred. This prosperity was engulfed in the utter desolation which settled down after the First Revolt. If we measure growth by the cubic accumulation above the rock, about half the history of the valley had been written by

this time. The next stages which are coeval with the early Byzantine period, when Jerusalem was the religious capital of Christendom, show another outburst of intelligent creative effort, and this was followed by another eclipse, which has lasted until the present.

The changes in the contour of the valley between the Bronze Age and to-day have been enormous, but they have been one and all determined by direct human agency; they have therefore varied incalculably from age to age, both in character and degree. *Mens agitat molem.*

#### PLATES.

I.—Photograph taken by Le T. R. Père Savignac on the 17th July. A view of the gateway looking south-east. The wall above the seated figure in which small stones predominate is part of the late south foundation wall of room 40 (stage 4); this abuts at the straight joint on the north wall of the south tower. Immediately above this wall is a drain belonging to the same house as the Byzantine masonry near it (stage 5). The south-west corner of the north tower is seen on the left of the picture, and above it is the corner of the second room, No. 21, in the house of Anastasius (see Q.S., July, 1927).

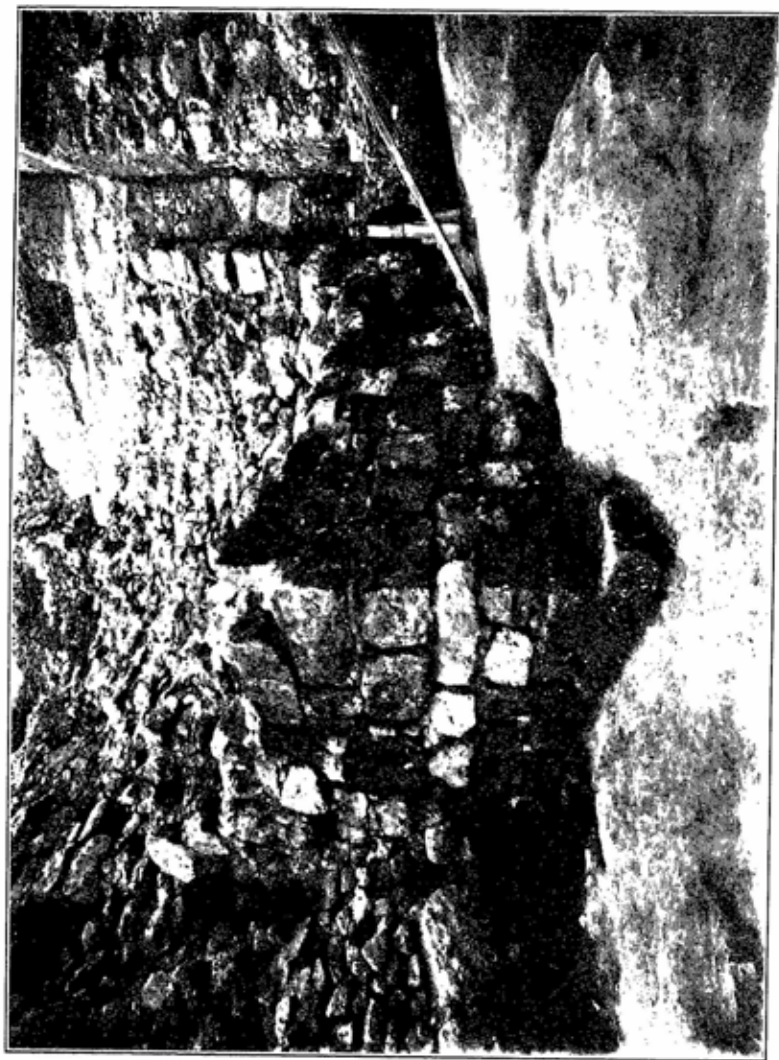
II.—Photograph also taken by Le T. R. Père Savignac on the same day. This view shows the south wall and the south-west corner of the north tower; the corner when we found it was standing as high as the opposite tower, but we had to remove the upper courses, as they were dangerous. Part of the latest repair, dating from the Maccabean period, may be seen left of the standing figure. The short wall behind this figure and the wall to the right are the foundation walls of the Byzantine room No. 21, mentioned above.

III.—Photograph taken the 26th August of the south-west corner of the excavation in the middle of the valley. At the bottom of the picture the two doorways in the "cellars" of 47 are seen (stage 2); above these is the stratum of destruction which we connect with the siege of Jerusalem (stage 3); immediately above this two lines of occupation with a line of debris sloping from the left, i.e. from the street level, are visible (stage 5); above these there is no trace of occupation until the three stones at the top of the picture, a little right of the centre, are reached (stage 6).





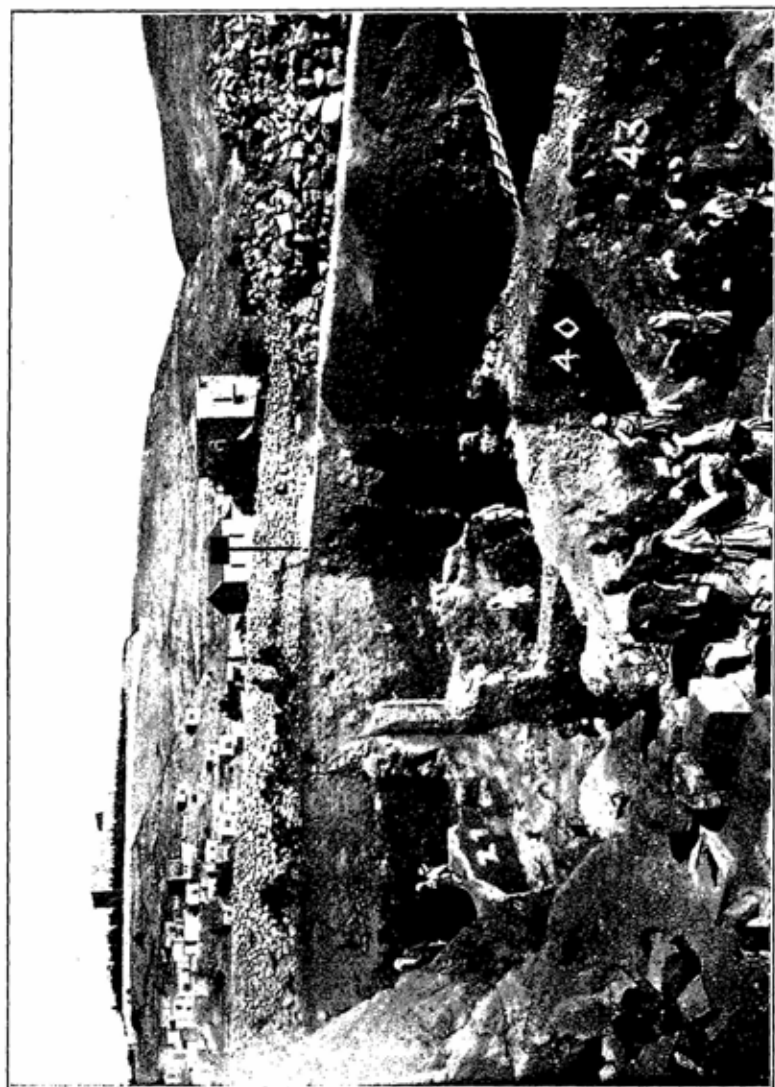
THE GATE-WAY.



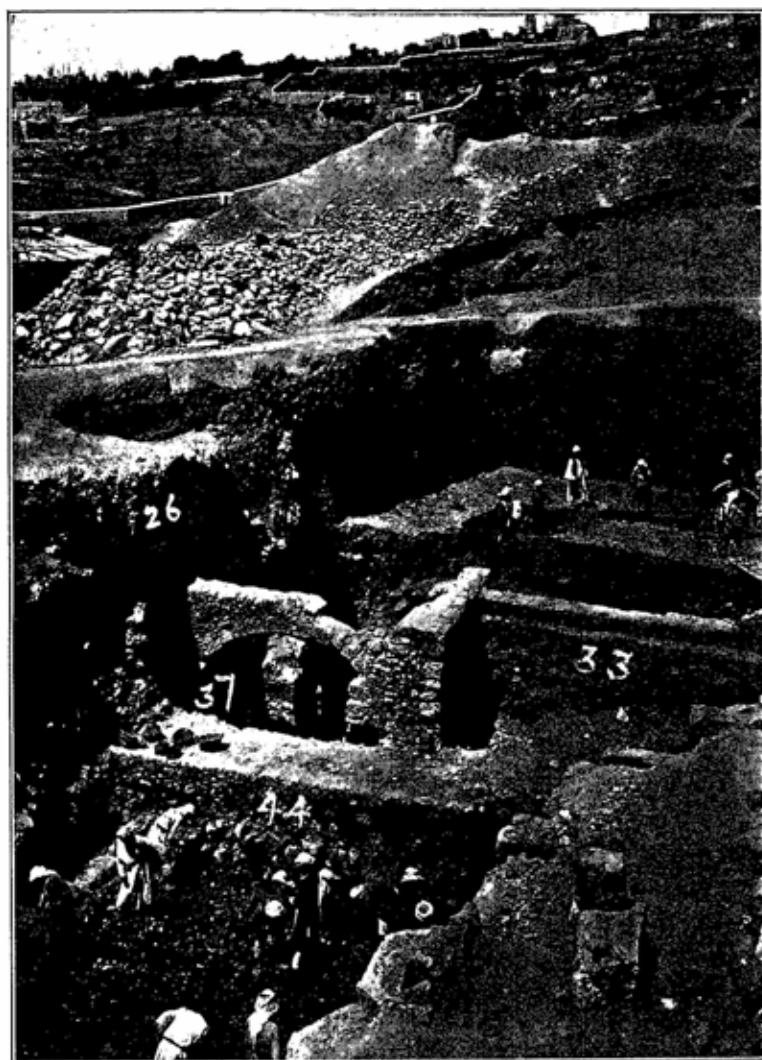
NORTH TOWER OF THE GATE-WAY.



SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE EXCAVATIONS.



VIEW LOOKING SOUTH-EAST BELOW THE BYZANTINE STREET.



VIEW OF ARCH ON LOWER BYZANTINE LEVEL.

*To face Plate IV.]*



VIEW OF THE ARCHED ROOM AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE ARCH.

IV.—Photograph taken the 2nd July, looking in the direction south-east. This shows the walls which were found when the Byzantine street (stage 5) was removed; the east wall and the south-east corner of room 21, which appeared in Plates I and II, are seen on the left, and below them in the left-hand corner the mouth of a cistern on the street level. It will be seen how the axis of rooms 40 and 43 (stage 4) differs from that of the following stage, which is represented by the walls of room 21.

V.—Photograph taken the 26th July. This shows the great wall (with the figure 44 on it) which formed the western pillar on which the street level rested, and the arch of room 37 beyond it. Room 26, which rested immediately on the arch, was on the level of the street. The irregularity of the extrados of the arch and the character of the masonry of the great wall, which is identical with that of the foundation wall of room 21 (see Plate IV), may be observed.

VI.—Photograph taken the 12th August. This photograph was taken just after the arch had been removed; the stones of the south pier of the arch may be seen lying as they fell in the centre of the picture, and it will be seen that they were not bonded at all into the wall behind. On the left of the picture the slope of debris downwards against the great wall is visible; it should be mentioned that the three horizontal courses of apparent masonry on a line with the bottom of the great wall which interrupt this slope were placed there by us in the course of work to hold up the dangerous debris above. The bottom of the plaster in room 26 marks the level of the street.

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## ES-SALT.

By THE REV. J. GARROW DUNCAN, M.A., B.D.

ES-SALT is one hour's walk south of Jebel Hosha'. The houses of the modern town occupy a small amphitheatre between two ridges of hills. The hill on the north side is known as the Castle Hill, and runs in a slight south-westerly direction. The hill at the south end is known as Jebel Gadur, and has a fine spring at its eastern base known as 'Ain Gadur. Jebel Gadur runs in a north-westerly direction till it meets the Castle Hill ridge. The two ridges thus form the amphitheatre in which stands the main part of the town, including the Serai, the Bazaar, and two churches.

It is a picturesque and beautiful site. The slopes on both sides are steep and covered with dwellings. Many of the streets are therefore stairs, up which donkeys, but no vehicle, can pass. In the centre of the town is a powerful spring of excellent water, of which 'Ain Gadur is understood to be an offshoot, though the European inhabitants prefer the 'Ain Gadur water for drinking. The overflow of these springs feeds the Wadi Shaib, which flows down the valley, and joins the Jordan opposite Jericho. The road from Jericho to Amman runs alongside this stream from the eastern edge of the Jordan Valley to Es-Salt.

There are many features of great archaeological importance and value in and around the town. The most important of these are :—

1. The Towers or Fortresses on the Northern Hill.
2. The dry Fosse (or Fosses) running round them.
3. A series of Cup Hollows on the edge of the Fosse.
4. An underground staircase Tunnel leading down the hill from the fortress to the powerful spring in the town.
5. The Hebrew Rock-cut Tombs on Jebel Gadur and other hills near.
6. The early fortification of Jebel Gadur itself.

1. *The Fortresses on the Northern Hill.*

The great feature of the town is the Castle ruin standing on the top of the northern hill. When it was complete this fortification must have been a very imposing spectacle and visible from the



hill-tops around for many miles. Now the ruins cover a considerable extent of ground and stand in places to a height of over 20 feet, though these parts were probably built or at least restored by the Turks. It has been a stronghold up to 120 years ago, for we know that Ibrahim Pasha tried to destroy it at the beginning of last century, and succeeded only too well.

The ruins are now a quarry and will gradually be transformed into modern houses. The fellahin are rapidly bringing the hill-top under cultivation, planting vines and especially apricot trees, which they are experimenting with, as no apricots have hitherto been grown in the vicinity of Salt. They are building houses beside their land and naturally use the stones at hand, which they find tooled and ready in abundance. Soon therefore all but the most massive walls and foundations will disappear. Already Crusading and Herodian stones are to be found side by side in the walls of the modern dwellings.

There are traces of two, if not three, "Towers" or "Fortresses" on the summit of this northern hill of Salt.

(a) *Crusading*.—On the very highest point in the centre there are still several courses of masonry visible. These belong to an oblong building some 90 feet long and 30 feet broad. This masonry, five courses of which I photographed at the south-eastern corner of the building (Plate VII, 1), consists chiefly of hammer-shaped blocks, which have never been tooled, the interstices being filled up with chips and mortar as in the oldest Jebusite wall of the City of David. In fact, the masonry might pass for Canaanite; but on closer examination I found at least one block of stone which had been roughly tooled and has a drafted edge about 4 inches deep. As this class of masonry is assigned to the Herodian period, it became at once plain that the building is later than Herodian.

This building is therefore the foundation courses of part of the Crusader fortifications referred to by Conder, and the Crusaders have manifestly not scrupled to use all material lying to hand. They obviously used stones from an earlier fortress built by Herod, but where they procured the hammer-shaped boulders is not quite apparent. They may have quarried these from the remains of a previous Canaanite fortification, and used them as they found them, or used rough blocks excavated in making the Fosse which runs round the fort.

(b) *Turkish*.—At the extreme east end of this hill there are the remains of a later fortification on a lower level than the Crusader building (Plate VII, 2). The walls of this fortification still stand in some parts to a height of 20 feet, and they contain blocks of stone some of which are obviously Crusading, many Herodian, and some quite modern. This is the latest fortification on the hill-top. In this masonry there is no filling in of interstices, there being no interstices. The blocks all fit closely together, being perfectly square cut. If they are laid in mortar, it is very thin. The building is probably late Arab or Crusading, and was repaired later still by the Turks. In reality it is not more than 150 years since it fell into disuse.

The north wall of this building is at one point composed entirely of large blocks, well cut and tooled, with the Herodian drafted edge on them. It may be part of the Herodian fortification left *in situ*. The rest of the building is a mixture of Herodian and Crusading materials. This later fortification also ended in a large tower on the extreme east side, and this tower is composed entirely of blocks dressed in the Herodian style, which is also, in my opinion, part of the original Herodian fortress *in situ*.

It appears therefore that later builders, Crusaders, Arabs, or Turks, found here a Herodian fortification, which had been partially destroyed, and proceeded to rebuild it, incorporating in the new building all that it seemed to them unnecessary to pull down and rebuild.

Thus at the eastern corner there are remains of fortifications of the Herodian, Crusading, Arab and comparatively modern Turkish times. This eastern tower of Herodian blocks is being continuously quarried away, so that very soon only the foundations underground will be left. That this tower is at a lower level than the Crusading fort (a) fits in well with the level of fortification (c) now to be described. It formed part of it.

(c) *Early Herodian* (Plate VII, 3).—Away to the extreme western edge of the hill, overhanging the Fosse, there is a portion of Herodian wall still standing. It measures about 30 feet long and 25 feet high, and forms part of the western face of the hill. Fifteen courses of masonry are visible above ground. The present surface of this wall is quite 30 feet below the level of the foundations of (a), the Crusading building. There has therefore been an accumulation of debris to a depth of 55 to 60 feet on the summit of the hill between

the Herodian and the Crusading times. This means constant occupation of the site, probably, as well as a lapse of 1,700-1,500 years between the Herodian and the Crusading buildings.<sup>1</sup>

This block of Herodian masonry is undoubtedly part of a fortification built by Herod, probably Antipas, one more of his several strongholds which he kept in store for emergencies. I found traces also of the north and south walls, as well as a considerable section of the eastern wall of this building, running out southwards from beneath the Crusader building at its south-eastern corner; and lastly, there are traces of further Herodian building at the extreme eastern edge of the hill in the wall and tower above referred to.

This Herodian fortification thus occupied practically the whole summit of the hill inside the Fosse; and, considering that it was at a level 60 feet lower than the Crusading building, it must have covered a very much larger extent of ground than any later fortification. The Herodian level of occupation is only a few feet above the level of the outer rock scarp of the Fosse, which will be described later.

Conder speaks of the fort on this hill as a Crusader fort, but takes no notice of the fact that the remains of a Herodian fortification are quite visible beneath it.

The eastern wall of the Herodian building, referred to as running south from beneath the south-eastern corner of the Crusader building, is built on a rock scarp in which is cut a wide slot, and into this slot the wall fits neatly. This wall has been smashed evidently by some explosion. It looks now as if suspended in mid-air, the whole of the rest of the wall with the ground underlying it having been carried completely away. We owe this to the explosions of Ibrahim Pasha, who undermined the fort and blew it up. A large piece of the inner face of the Fosse had been blown out at the same time, so that this part does not appear so precipitous now, as it originally must have been.

This suspended wall is really the middle eastern wall of the great Herodian fortification and runs parallel to the block of masonry at the west end describe above. Almost the whole of the south wall has been blown out, though its line can still be traced near the west

<sup>1</sup> This would mean a rate of 4 feet per 100 years in the accumulation of debris; we have to add other 25 to 30 feet at least to give the Herodian level, as the Herodian wall still stands to a height of 25 feet.

end. There are still standing *in situ* on this south side the huge jambs of a large door (Plate VII, 4). These jambs have drafted edges and they mark the line of the south wall. On the north side I have no doubt that the line of the Herodian wall could be laid bare with very little excavation. The explosions of Ibrahim did not affect that side, but the wall has disappeared.

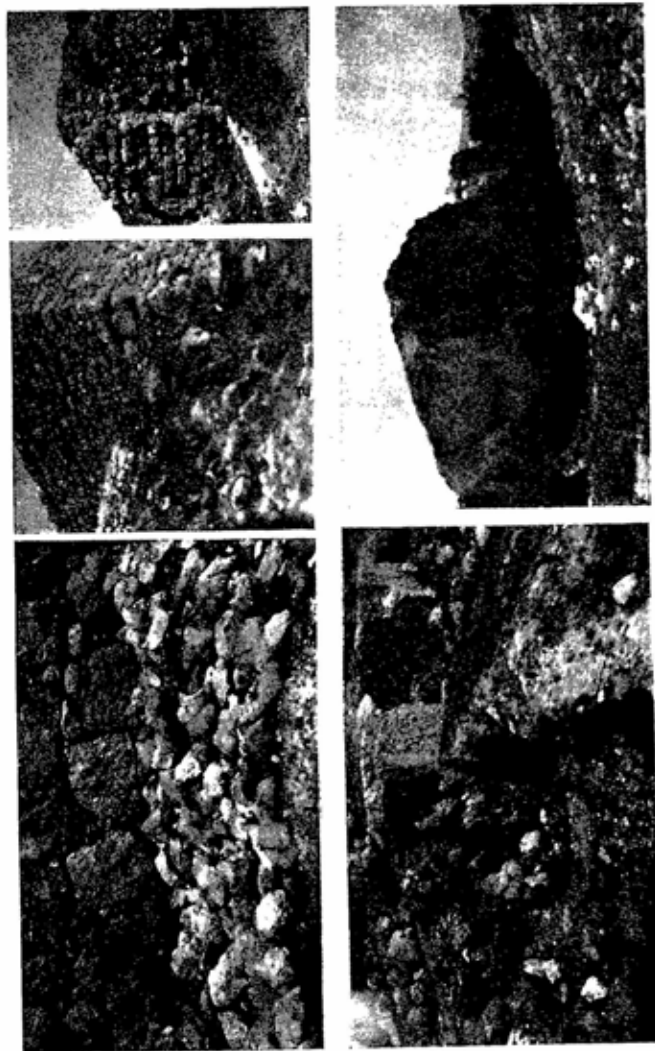
## 2. *The Fosse* (Plate VII, 5).

Conder calls it a Fosse. There are really two of them—an outer and an inner. Of the outer only a small section remains at the west end. I doubt if this outer one ever ran round the whole summit of the hill. It was simply an additional precaution on the vulnerable side. The inner Fosse is almost complete still, and runs round most of the south side and the whole of the west and north sides. There is no trace of it on the east side, there being no need for it there. These Fosses are cut in the solid rock, but are now more or less filled up with debris.

A similar fosse or cutting, which very much resembles these, may be seen along the eastern wall of Jerusalem north of St. Stephen's Gate. The photograph shows how carefully the Fosse has been cut to a uniform circular face. They were dry Fosses. There is a small spring at the western end of the hill outside of both of the Fosses, and doubtless in time its trickle might fill them up; but I question if the Fosses would have retained the water after they were filled.

## 3. *Cup Hollows—a Canaanite "High Place" and the Date of the Fosse.*

If there was a Canaanite fort here, and later a Hebrew one, the Fosse may represent in part the result of their quarrying for material, and in part also their scheme of defence; but the Fosse has been greatly enlarged and cut into shape by later hands. This is proved by the fact that on the top of the rock scarp at its eastern edge there can be seen several cup hollows, the remains of a Canaanite "High Place." Those who cut the scarp to its present shape have cut right through this series of cup hollows. The Fosse therefore, as it stands at present, was not made by Canaanites, but by Crusaders, as Conder implies. I found another instance of a Canaanite "High Place" being cut through by Crusaders in this way in the shaping of a rock scarp at Saikh Ayub.



ES-SALT CASTLE.

1. Crusader Wall—Close View.
2. Gate Tower (Turkish)—East End.
3. Herodian Wall—West End.
4. Herodian Door-Jambs *in situ*.
5. The Inner Fosse—East End.




The cup hollows may belong to the Cave-dweller period before there existed any fortress at all. It is impossible to assign a definite date to them. The suspended east wall of the Herodian building seemed as if it had originally crossed what is now the Fosse at this point. If so, the Fosse cannot have been completed till after the Herodian period.

The south wall of the Herodian fortress, with the door mentioned above, however, runs along the inner edge of the Fosse, so that the suspended wall must mark an extension southward of the Herodian building, and this extension must have covered the whole of the eastern end of the hill. The Herodian masonry mentioned under 1 (b), the Turkish fort, belonged to it. It seems, therefore, that part at least of the Fosse existed in Herodian times, though not in its present completed form.

The western end of the hill is the most vulnerable. Here the inner side of the Fosse is very steep and the Fosse itself very deep. The Herodian wall at this end again stands on the very edge of the inner Fosse. To strengthen the defence an outer Fosse is added, running north and south: and this outer Fosse has all the appearance of a quarry. The sides are not finished or scarped. The eastern end of the hill is so precipitous as to need no artificial strengthening. If there was a surface means of access to the fortress, it was probably on this side, but no trace of it is apparent.

It would seem, therefore, that the Fosse existed in some form when this Herodian building was erected. The north and west walls and the first section of the southern wall run along its inner edge; but the Fosse must have stopped at the suspended Herodian wall, which appears to have crossed it and ran to the southern edge of the hill itself. It may be, therefore, that after the Herodian fortress was destroyed, the Crusaders completed the Fosse, but it does not seem to have ever been continued to the extreme eastern edge of the hill.

The Herodian fortress thus consisted of a long building in the shape of a gnomon, , resembling the letter L. It must have measured about 200 feet complete length and 80-100 feet in breadth in the western section. The eastern section was probably a large square tower, but measurements cannot be taken till some excavation has been done.

An imposing structure of great magnitude it must have been, and visible from every height for many miles around. Whether this Herodian structure was the earliest can be decided only by excavation.

Where, however, all succeeding civilizations from the time of Herod have found it expedient to have a strong fort, is it likely that the Canaanites and the Hebrews would not have found it equally advantageous to fortify? I am confident that the Castle hill of Salt is the site of a very old Canaanite stronghold, and later of an Israelite fort. What the name of this fort was we cannot definitely determine without excavation.

In examination of some houses which I was permitted to enter on the hill, I found many enormous boulders, hammer-shaped and untooled, built into the walls. Door jambs, lintels and thresholds were particularly noticeable. These boulders certainly belong to some very ancient masonry, older by far than anything which I saw still *in situ*, and they quite convince me that there was here a Canaanite fortification from the ruins of which they have been taken.

#### 4. *The Underground Staircase and Tunnel.*

There is an underground staircase leading from the south-east corner of the summit of the Castle hill right down to where the spring gushes forth in the heart of the town. The steps of this long stairway (it rises at least 300 feet in 300 yards) are cut in the solid rock and the whole is underground. Not very long ago the upper entrance to this stairway was open, but it is now covered over by the flooring of the outer salon of a native house. For a few shillings the owners of the house would have allowed me to raise the floor, and later on I hope to do this. My information regarding this staircase is therefore second-hand, and I am not in a position to assign a date to the staircase. It may be Herodian. It is quite as likely to be early Canaanite like the great tunnel stairway, leading down to water, found by Dr. Macalister at Gezer.

In a house some yards up the steep street that passes the C.M.S. Hospital there is the entrance to a tunnel 5 feet wide and about 3 feet high. My friend, Negeeb Cubeisy, and I crawled up this tunnel for about 30 yards till it became a narrow neck. Beyond that it widens and enters this rock-cut staircase. We were not provided with lights nor suitably dressed. We therefore postponed the examination



of this tunnel and were unable to get another opportunity of visiting it. The tunnel, however, is one of three tunnels cut by Ibrahim Pasha to undermine and blow up the fort on the Castle hill. In two of these tunnels he was successful: but in this, his third tunnel, the charge failed to explode. To this accident we probably owe the preservation of the rock-cut stairway which I visited at a later date and examined.<sup>1</sup> The garrison of the fort thus had access to the public wells without fear of molestation from the townspeople and without their movements being observed.

It is said, however, that the staircase was originally on the surface and was buried later, and again cleared by tunnelling.

### 5. *The Ancient Name of Salt.*

The modern name Es-Salt is generally understood to be the Latin word *Saltus*, a forest, adopted into Arabic. It is a fact that the district all round Salt was originally covered by oak forests of large dimensions (compare the Plain el-Ardah). The roots of the trees can be seen on the slopes of the hillsides still on the way out to Amman, and the tradition lives in the memory of the people. In the Roman times these forests were so striking a feature of that region that they named the town in the heart of them *Saltus*—the Forest. The original name of the town has been utterly lost, and only the Roman name survives.

I have pointed out several facts which indicate an occupation earlier than the Herodian. The High Place on the surface of the Fosse scarp, the enormous door jambs, lintels, thresholds and un-tooled boulders built into houses on the hill, and probably also the rock-cut staircase from the fort above to the spring in the heart of the city—all these suggest an early occupation and fortification of the hill.

There is little doubt in the minds of any who have visited Salt that this was a place of great strategical importance from the earliest times. Its strong position, its facility for defence, and the enormous supply of excellent spring water within it make this an indisputable fact.

<sup>1</sup> Later on Mr. Maxwell, of Christ Church, Jerusalem, and I climbed this tunnel till we reached the staircase, but what with its upper end being closed and all the smoke and foul air of the Arab house filling the tunnel, we found ourselves nearly poisoned, and had to crawl back as hard as we could with the perspiration streaming off our bodies. It was a risky experiment, there being no ventilation. We found the above facts correct, however.

We may safely assume that there was "a tower" here in Canaanite and in Hebrew times. It lies in the direct Bedawi route from Shechem by the mouth of the Jabbok, "by the way of them that dwelt in tents" (Judges viii, 11), to Karkor, Jogbehah and Rabbath-Ammon. In other words, it lies in the route which Gideon followed in his pursuit of the Midianites.

If Succoth was at Deir 'Alla, or, better still, on the extreme north-west end of the Plain el-Ardah, Salt is just 10 or 12 miles from it. And if, as I feel sure, the northern hill of Salt had a lofty tower on its summit at that time, there is little doubt that Salt Castle marks the site of the ancient Tower of Penuel, or some other of the towers or forts east of Jordan, which were used as places of retreat in the stress of war and invasion on the west side. In Judges viii, 8, Gideon "went up" from Succoth to Penuel, implying, we suppose, that Penuel was on a higher level than Succoth. The identification is satisfactory on this point. Jebel Hosha' is much nearer to Deir 'Alla (Succoth), but it has no trace of a tower or fortification of any kind; nor had it a supply of water to maintain a garrison. Jebel Hosha' is therefore ruled out and cannot fit into the narrative of Judges.

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## BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

THE Seventh Annual General Meeting of Subscribers was held on Friday, November 18th, 1927, at the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, when the Chair was taken by Sir FREDERIC KENYON, K.C.B., F.B.A., D.Litt. (President of the School), and Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT (Director of the School) gave an account of the Excavations at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley, carried out for the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Mr. C. E. MOTT (Hon. Secretary) read the Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting held on June 14th, 1926, and these were confirmed and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding to any other business, I think the Meeting would wish me to refer to the very great loss which the School, in common with many other institutions, has suffered in the death of Dr. Hogarth. Dr. Hogarth was at one time Chairman of our Council, and was a very good friend to the School from its foundation. He was known to many in this room, I am sure, as a personal friend. Personally, I had known him since school days, more especially since we were both Fellows of the same College at Oxford. He was a very sound archaeologist; a great traveller with quite exceptional knowledge of the Near East and adjoining countries; a very able administrator and excellent adviser on almost any form of human activity. He was a man of very sound judgment, and had just that touch of cynicism, if you like to call it so, which serves as a corrective to enthusiasm and which made him such an excellent adviser to others. He also had a very good eye for picking out men for any form of work in which he was interested. I was associated with him in connection with the British Museum and the excavations which we undertook in Asia Minor and, afterwards, in Mesopotamia. Those excavations at Carchemish in Asia Minor, where the Chaboras and the Euphrates meet, were initiated by Dr. Hogarth. It was he who picked the site and found the men, those men being Mr. Woolley, who has since begun digging for us in Mesopotamia, and Mr. T. E. Lawrence, whose fame has become world-wide since that day. He found Lawrence as a young student

at Oxford and helped him forward in all ways when his career was that of archaeology ; he recognized his abilities when the time came for wider work, and it was to Dr. Hogarth more than to anybody else that Lawrence looked as a constant adviser in all difficulties, and just because he did not press his opinion or superiority on anybody, people recognized him as an authority and never resented his advice. Thus he was looked to as an adviser as well as a friend by a number of people in very many spheres of work. His loss, therefore, is one that is much wider than our Society. At the same time, we should not be doing our duty or satisfying our own feelings if we did not for our part express our regret at the loss we have suffered, and I ask you to pass a vote of condolence with Mrs. Hogarth.

The vote was carried, members upstanding in silence.

The PRESIDENT : It is now my duty to lay before you and to move the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts. Since the last Annual Meeting a change has occurred in the direction of the School. Professor Garstang, who has been acting as Director since the foundation of the School, has had to return to England. He has taken up his work at Liverpool. After some difficulty and time for consideration the School was able to obtain as a successor Mr. Crowfoot, and I am sure we are very fortunate indeed. Mr. Crowfoot, as you know, has come with long experience of Egypt behind him ; he is a trained archaeologist, which is what we want, and he has thrown himself into the breach ; he realized the difficulties under which the Society's School is labouring and has rescued us from a very serious position. He has enabled the School, and through the School the country, to take on the responsibility which this country has for the antiquities of Palestine. Therefore, it is not only for the School but for the country, so far as it is interested in archaeological matters, to express gratitude to Mr. Crowfoot for his acceptance of the post.

The Report<sup>1</sup> is before you and I am sure you will agree that it be taken as read. Nevertheless, I must call attention to one important matter, and that is the very grave financial situation in which the School now finds itself. As is stated in the Report,

<sup>1</sup> The Annual Report has been circulated to all members of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. (See below, pp. 42-44.)

the Government grant of £500 a year has come to an end. The Government have not felt justified in continuing that grant so long as there was such a small public response to the appeals on behalf of the School. It is not the habit of this country for the Government to go ahead of public demand in matters of this kind. In other countries matters are sometimes different. In France it has been usual for the Government to take the lead in establishing institutes of research into antiquities in any country with which it is concerned, as they did in the case of Syria. They trust, no doubt, to these schools justifying themselves as time goes on, and they give themselves the right of claiming that they should show real interest and initiative in matters of knowledge and claim a certain hegemony in that respect. In this country such matters are dealt with differently. The principle is that the public must show its interest in a subject before the Government comes in to back it up. Therefore, if we are to recover the Government grant at any time we must be able to show the Government that considerable public response is manifested and ask them to back that up by renewing the grant. At present our finances are much below the necessary expenditure. A great part of our income is due, as is probably known to many in this room, to a few generous friends. The position now is that the School will not be able to go on for more than a year or so unless its income is very considerably increased. Therefore, it will be necessary within the next few months to circulate an appeal to the public for a response which will enable the School to continue its existence. I think it would be a real scandal in a country of such interest as Palestine, and a country for which this nation has undertaken special responsibilities, to have to say that there was not sufficient response to maintain the School for the purpose of investigating the antiquities of the history of the country. Other countries are able to maintain organizations for research in Palestine, and England, which has such responsibility in Palestine ought, unquestionably, to have its School of Archaeology there. I trust that all the members here will do what they can to back up the appeal when it goes out and to enlist further subscribers in support of the School.

Field-Marshal Lord ALLENBY: I am very glad to have an opportunity of seconding that motion, because it gives me the

chance of saying that I endorse every word our President has said. It would be nothing short of disgrace if we of this country who were entrusted with the Mandate for Palestine, who took such a large share in freeing Palestine from Turkish dominion, did not accept the duty incumbent upon us to explore the antiquities of that country. There is no part of the world where such a field of exploration is open. For many centuries Palestine has been a closed book, and during thousands of years material has been accumulating there. Nation after nation has flourished and died away in that country. Invasion after invasion has poured in, been driven back or passed on, and every generation through all those thousands of years has left traces behind it. They are ready for us if we uncover them and give them to the world. All that is wanted is enthusiasm. If we have enthusiasm, money will come. Therefore, let us have enthusiasm and the determination that we will make a success of the British School of Archaeology. We have some of the best men in this country at our disposal, men such as Professor Garstang and Mr. Crowfoot. It would, as I have said, be a disgrace if we did not make use of those men and of the opportunities which we have at our disposal. The British School of Archaeology is on a scientific and a sound basis. No archaeology can be carried out without trained men. That has been proved over and over again. Those who have seen the harm done in places like Egypt by unskilled exploration and excavation recognize the necessity for the School, and I am sure that we shall all do our best to make of it the success it ought to be.

The Report and Accounts were then unanimously adopted.

On the motion of Professor MYRES, seconded by Mr. ROBERT MOND, Dr. A. E. Cowley, Bodley's Librarian at Oxford and Fellow of Magdalen College, was elected a Trustee to succeed the late Dr. Hogarth.

The Rev. THOMAS HARRISON proposed the election of the following Officers for the ensuing year :—

<i>Chairman</i>	...	...	Professor J. L. Myres.
<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	...	...	Robert Mond, Esq.
<i>Hon. Secretary</i>	...	...	C. E. Mott, Esq.
<i>Hon. Auditors</i>	...	...	Sir Israel Gollancz and Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

The speaker endorsed all that had been said by Lord Allenby, and did not think that sufficient had yet been done to enlist the interest of the man in the street in archaeology generally. Nevertheless, at present there appeared to be a deeper interest in archaeology in almost every direction, and he was sure if the appeal referred to by the President, and supported by Lord Allenby, went out, it would be met on a very large scale. The disgrace of losing ground in Palestine should never be allowed to come even in sight. He hoped the officers whose election he had moved would receive great encouragement during the current year, and that when the meeting was held next year all thought of abandonment of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem would be far removed.

Dr. WHEELER seconded the proposition, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT then delivered an address on the excavations at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley, the substance of which appears elsewhere in the *Quarterly Statement* (pp. 9 *sqq.*).

Professor J. L. MYRES moved a vote of thanks to Sir Frederic Kenyon for presiding and for his lucid statement, and to Mr. Crowfoot for his clear and vivid account of the work done during the past year. He had no doubt that as the work of the School became better known and the facilities it offered more widely appreciated, a greater number of students would be enrolled. It was something to have, in addition to the Director and the Assistant Director, four students possessing the qualifications Mr. Crowfoot had described. He included in the motion a vote of thanks to the Society of Antiquaries for the use of the room in which the meeting had been held.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation, and the PRESIDENT, in returning thanks, read a telegram from the former Director of the School, Professor Garstang, expressing his good wishes for a successful meeting and for a generous response to the forthcoming appeal, adding: "Palestine is an important field of research and Britain has special responsibility."

## REPORT FOR THE SEASON 1926-27.

The School has passed through a somewhat difficult period during the last year.

In June, 1926, Professor Garstang intimated to the Council that as the Government of Palestine now required the whole of his time, he must resign the Directorship of the School. With the assent of the Government, he offered to act as Hon. Director without salary until the Council appointed another Director. The Council accepted this offer and wish to express their appreciation of the assistance which Professor Garstang has given to the School.

In the Council's Report for 1925 it was intimated that some readjustment would in any event be expedient in the relations between the School and the Department of Antiquities, even if the two organizations were directed by the same individual as heretofore. The resignation of Professor Garstang made this change immediately necessary. Accordingly, in October, 1926, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, M.A., Brasenose College, Oxford (late of the Sudan Civil Service) was commissioned by the Council to proceed to Jerusalem to make arrangements with the Government for the entire separation of the School from the Government Department of Antiquities, and also to report to the Council as to its future policy.

Mr. Crowfoot succeeded in making very satisfactory arrangements with the Government, who took over responsibility for the greater part of the School buildings (in which the Museum of Antiquities has already been installed), while leaving ample accommodation for the School. He also submitted to the Council a very valuable report on the present work of the School and on the other archaeological foundations with which it has to co-operate.

On the invitation of the Council, Mr. Crowfoot subsequently returned to Jerusalem as Director of the School for the year 1927, on the understanding that his expenses while in Palestine are defrayed and that the question of salary is to be considered by the Council as soon as the results of the prospective appeal for funds are known.



Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, the first student of the School, has been appointed Assistant Director for a period of 12 months from 1st February, 1927.

Miss Levi was appointed Librarian at a salary of £5 per month, but, to the Council's regret, she will be shortly taking up other employment.

Two new Students, Mr. G. S. W. Avory and Mr. D. J. Chitty, have been admitted during the year.

With the object of closer co-operation between the British School of Archaeology and the Palestine Exploration Fund, it has been agreed that the excavations projected by the Fund should be conducted by the Director and Assistant Director of the School, the Fund making the annual grant of £200 to the School. It will be seen that this arrangement provides opportunities of practical study for students of the School and a saving of salaries and travelling expenses to the Fund.

In accordance with this arrangement, the Director and Assistant Director have conducted the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the Tyropoeon Valley, an account of which will be given by the Director at the Annual Meeting.

The School will also contribute reports and other communications to the *Quarterly Statements* issued by the Fund, and these will be issued to the Subscribers to the School, so saving the cost of the publication of separate *Bulletins*.

The examination of prehistoric remains in Galilee was continued by Mr. Turville-Petre, the publication of the Galilee Volume being delayed in order to incorporate the results of these further researches.

This Volume, *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee and a Report on the Galilee Skull*, has now been issued to Members, and the Council wish to express to Sir Arthur Keith, Mr. F. Turville Petre, Miss Dorothea M. Bate, and Mrs. Baynes their grateful thanks for their generous co-operation in producing a Volume which must add greatly to the reputation of the School.

In view of the exceptional importance of the "Galilee Skull," the Council has made arrangements with Messrs. R. F. Damon & Co., 45, Hazlewell Road, London, S.W.15, for the reproduction and sale of casts made under the supervision

of Sir Arthur Keith, including (1) an exact replica of the skull as found, (2) separate casts of the component bones, (3) an "endocranial cast" exhibiting the general configuration of the brain.

The International Archaeological Congress in Syria and Palestine took place in April, 1926, Professor Sayce and Mr. Robert Mond being the Official Delegates of the School.

The thanks of the School are due to the Honorary Treasurer for a contribution to the funds which enabled the School to take its due share in the entertainment of the Congress, for a special contribution of £250 to the funds of the School, and for guaranteeing the cost of the Galilee Volume; also to Viscount Astor for a generous donation of £100 for the continuation of the prehistoric researches in Galilee.

The financial position of the School continues to be by no means satisfactory. The Treasury has made a further grant of £500 for the year 1927-28, but has intimated that owing to the demands of public economy the grant will not again be renewed.

Unless therefore the regular income from Subscribers can be very largely increased, it will become impossible to carry on the School, and Great Britain, to whom the administration of Palestine has been entrusted, will cease to be represented by a School of Archaeology in Palestine, although the United States and France are able to maintain flourishing Schools.

The Council propose therefore in the immediate future to launch a public appeal for financial support; and subscribers are invited to assist (1) by giving to the Hon. Secretary the names and addresses of any institutions or individuals who would be likely to become subscribers, and (2) by organizing local meetings to make the objects and recent work of the School more generally known. For such meetings the Hon. Secretary would be pleased to provide lantern slides and, if desired, to suggest the names of lecturers.

## A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CESAREA.

By ZEV VILNAY, Tel-Aviv.

IN the early part of June last year I happened to visit the colony Benyaminah as a travelling lecturer for the geography of Palestine. Some friends who were working in the drainage of the Kabarah swamp told me that they noticed in the ancient aqueduct to Cesarea a stone with traces of letters on it. I decided to visit the spot. From Benyaminah I passed between Fowski Bey's estate and Tell Barak, where several marble sarcophagi, beautifully sculptured, had been found. After a walk of some forty-five minutes I reached a breach in the aqueduct, made by the workmen for the purposes of the drainage they were carrying out. The inscribed stone was lying among a heap of other stones broken away from the aqueduct. Near this spot a side-channel branching off from the main aqueduct makes a large detour, and rejoins the main aqueduct lower down. This channel is also of ancient construction, though later than the main aqueduct. The reason for this reserve channel seems to be as follows: at this place the main aqueduct is built on marshy ground; there was always the danger that in years of abundant rainfall the foundations of the aqueduct at this particular spot could sink, and consequently a reserve channel was built along the border of the swamp, where this ground was firmer, and presented no danger of sinking.

The inscribed block of hard limestone, undoubtedly quarried in the mountains, was originally in the masonry of the main aqueduct. It is different from the rest of the masonry, which was constructed of sandstone quarried in the adjoining quarries. Its measurements are: 1,104 cms. by 63 cms. by 32 cms.

One corner is broken off, but this break does not affect the inscription. The front of the block is ornamented with a raised border 11 cms. wide, enclosing a space of 34 cms. by 50 cms. On both sides of the border there are raised bosses resembling the head of an animal

or bird. The enclosed space bears the inscription of six lines. This was covered with an age-long accumulation of lime and clay. After cleaning that away, I read :

IMP(ERATOR) CAESAR	...	...	The emperor the Caesar
TRAIANVS	...	...	Trianus
HADRIANVS	...	...	Hadrianus
AVG(VSTVS) FECIT	...	...	Augustus has made (the aqueduct)
PER VEXILLATIONE(M)	...	...	by a detachment
LEG(IONIS) X FR(E)TEN(SIS)	...	...	of the legion Xth Fre- tensis.

Hence this is an inscription of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), whose reign is well known in Jewish history. Several relics of his reign exist in Palestine, among them a number of inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

Hadrian visited Palestine in A.D. 130, about two years before the revolt of Bar-Kokba (A.D. 130-132). In this visit Hadrian encouraged the construction of several public buildings in various cities. It is known that Tiberias, Gaza, and Petra profited by that visit. Cesarea had a temple—Hadrianon—in honour of the emperor.<sup>2</sup> A column found there, now at the Government Museum at Jerusalem, bears an inscription which tells of the building of a basilica successfully accomplished and of the construction of a staircase for the Hadrianon.

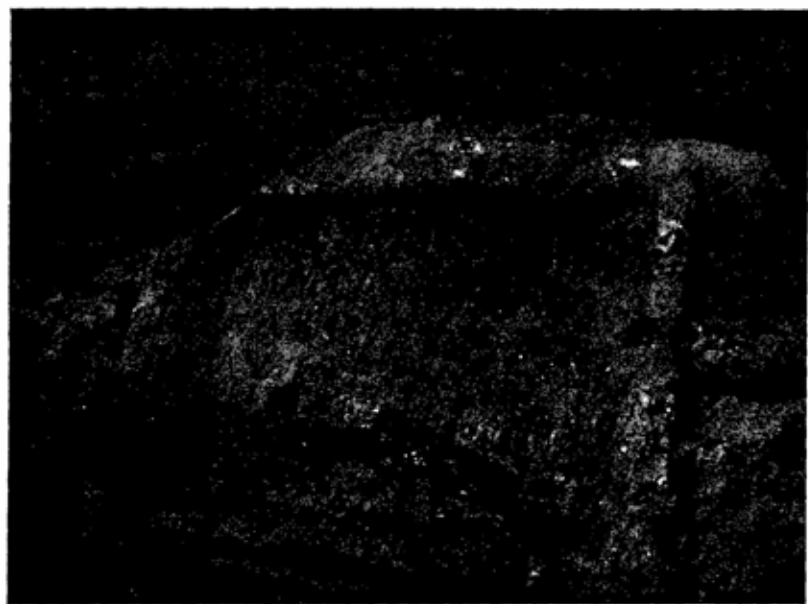
Our new inscription informs us that the building of this aqueduct which supplied Cesarea with fresh water was erected during the reign of Hadrian.

The first four lines of the inscription are well preserved, and their deciphering presented no difficulties. The letters of the fifth line are smaller than those of the preceding lines. I read it: "*per vexillatione(m)*"—"by a detachment"—i.e. that the work was executed by a detachment of troops. In another inscription, on the Zion Gate in Jerusalem, is mentioned, "*vexilatio legionis III cyrenaice*."

The last line of our inscription describes the detachment to the tenth legion Fretensis, which formed the Roman garrison in Palestine. It participated in Titus's conquest of Jerusalem, and thereafter its headquarters were established here. Several tiles found in Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* XL (1917), p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Q.S.*, 1896, p. 87; *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 75.



ROMAN INSCRIPTION FROM NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CAESAREA.



bear the stamp "LXF," forming the initials of this legion.<sup>1</sup> The Government Museum in Jerusalem possesses several tablets with inscriptions mentioning this legion, which was a favourite one of Hadrian's. The Louvre Museum possesses a tablet dedicated to Hadrian by the soldiers of this legion.<sup>2</sup> A detachment of "leg. X Fretensis" was stationed at Rabbath-Ammon (Aman) in Transjordan, another detachment was in Gadara (Umkeis) in Gilead, during the reign of Hadrian.<sup>3</sup> Our new inscription informs us that still another was stationed at Cesarea, and that it was employed in the construction of the Cesarea aqueduct, a great achievement, the author and the precise date of which have been unknown till now. That Roman troops were employed in public works is well known. Thus, Roman legions during the consulship of Pontius Pilatus (A.D. 26-36) constructed conduits which lead fresh water from Solomon's Pools into Jerusalem. These conduits found in the neighbourhood of "Rachel's Tomb" bear the names of the centurions who supervised the execution of this work.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clermont Ganneau, *Trois Inscriptions de la X légion Fretensis trouvées à Jérusalem* (1872); *Q.S.*, 1871, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> R. Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques* (1912), p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Clermont Ganneau, *Études d'Archéologie Orientale* (1895), pp. 168-71.

<sup>4</sup> *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, IV (1901), p. 206.

## THE COINS OF ALEXANDER JANNAEUS.

By DR. A. MARMORSTEIN.

THE hoard of Jewish bronze coins from Ophel in the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Palestine, has shed, as Mr. C. Lambert (*Q.S.*, October, 1927, p. 187) rightly suggests, some light on the religious conditions prevailing under the rule of the above-named king. The two different spellings of the ruler's name, in a number of coins as ידוֹנָתָן, and in another group as יִנָּתָן, is a most surprising and remarkable change. There must be a reason for this alteration. We have no proof whatsoever that could help us to decide whether the ידוֹנָתָן group is the older and the יִנָּתָן group the younger, or *vice versa*. No details are at present at our disposal to decide one way or the other. Mr. Lambert rightly surmises that the trouble which Alexander Jannaeus had with the religious parties, and the later reconciliation between king and religious sects, has something to do with the two different ways of spelling and writing the ruler's name. This fact is surely closely connected with the history of the pronunciation of the Divine Name, the Tetragrammaton. The religious movements connected with the pronunciation of the Divine Name throw new light on the changes in the inscriptions of the coins, and these in turn add to our knowledge of the history of the Tetragrammaton.<sup>1</sup>

Late Babylonian cuneiform texts and Elephantine papyri furnish us with the fact that Jews in Babylon and Egypt did not hesitate to pronounce and write the Divine Name connected with various names of persons, male as well as female. Neither scribes, nor priests, neither low nor high, knew awe or fear in using the Divine Name. They do not hesitate to call their sons or daughters by names which involve the frequent repetition of God's name. Yet there must have come a reform, which, for some reason or other,

<sup>1</sup> For further details of the history of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton we refer to our "The Old-Rabbinic Doctrine of God," I (*Jews' College Publication No. 10*, London, 1927), pp. 17-40, where all the references are given.



saw in the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton something undesirable, if not indecent, and at all events disagreeing with the then current modes of piety. We are not able to name the exact date of this reform. It must have taken place somewhere before or at the beginning of Alexander the Great's age, around 300 B.C. A reliable Rabbinic report shows that, after the death of Simon the Just, his brethren ceased to pronounce the Divine Name in the priestly blessing. Our knowledge is, however, not limited to this report. We know the results of these endeavours and can trace an opposition to the reluctance to use the Divine Name.

The translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, some of the books of the Psalter, early Hellenistic writers, some books of the Hebrew Canon (*e.g.* the Scroll of Esther), and Alexandrian theology show the reluctance of some Jewish groups to use the Divine Name. There is an opposition to this avoidance of the use of the Tetragrammaton clearly discernible. Psalms, Sirach and Rabbinic sources leave no doubt that they do not regard such a theological development either necessary or desirable. Hellenistic Jews and their satellites, living under foreign influences, prone to assimilation, promoted and disseminated the new doctrine. Their influence was great and far-reaching, and is felt up to this day. But the Hassidic party did not keep quiet, and their restlessness and glowing spirits wrought even greater changes in the religious development of their people. They became the precursors and harbingers of that epoch-making historical event which is indissolubly connected with the name and the achievements of the Maccabees. Then the ideas, long fostered and secretly longed for by pietists, triumphed. The Tetragrammaton was again pronounced in divine service and ordinary conversation. Common greetings in the streets or on the road were exchanged with the Tetragrammaton. People were not ashamed or awed to do so. John Hyrkan uses on his coins יהוחנן, so did Alexander Jannaeus at first. Later on, when he forsook the Pharisees, the successors to the pietists, and joined issue with the Sadducees, he dropped the older doctrine and changed from יהוחנן into ינאן. The dogmatism of the Sadducees, either due to their conservatism, or owing to the literal translation or exposition of the Bible, made them fear to pronounce the Divine Name. The conservative Sadducees were in many things slaves of their highly developed superstitions, unknown to the more realistic Pharisees.

A trace of these events is preserved by the *Scholion to the Scroll of Fasts*, who relates that when the Hasmonaeans defeated the Greeks it was decreed that the Divine Name should be mentioned in published documents, e.g. in such and such a year of Jehohanan, high priest to the Most High God. This was later abolished. Graetz rightly dates the abolishing of this custom after Alexander Jannaeus became a Sadducee (*Geschichte*, III, 2, 572).

Yet there is one difficulty which could not be removed. Why should the whole act be connected with the Adrakhta (אֲדַרְכְּתָא)<sup>1</sup>, since only a substitute for the Divine Name was used? The אֲדַרְכְּתָא requires the Tetragrammaton. The fact is that the festivals were connected with the very change in the name of Alexander Jannaeus now found on the coins. Just as on coins, so in documents, the name of the ruler was written יִנְתָן instead of יְהוֹנָתָן. After his death this Sadducean practice was discontinued. The text has to read אֵת נְשִׁילַת אֲדַרְכְּתָא מִן שְׁמִי : On the 3rd of Tishri the omitting of the Divine Name in the ruler's name from the documents was abolished.

It may not be superfluous and uninteresting to draw attention to a very important, and hitherto unobserved, fact. In the inscription we find names of persons written, like יְהוֹנָתָן, יְהוֹעָזָר, יְהוֹסֵף, and also יוֹסֵף, יוֹעָזָר and יוֹנָתָן. Sadducees, whether priests or laymen, avoided as far as possible the writing of the Divine Name: not so the Pharisees.

The scanty archaeological material at our disposal does not allow us to establish final conclusions in this matter. We can only hope that further finds may enrich our knowledge of this period of Jewish history and Palestinian antiquities.

<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic; in Hebrew הִזְכָּרָה or אֲזָכָרָה, i.e. writing or pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton.

## AN ISRAELITE GEM FROM SAMARIA.

By E. L. SUKENIK.

IN March, 1927, on my return from Galilee to Jerusalem, I visited once more the ruins of Samaria. As usual, the children gathered together round me offering antikas for sale. A black gem inscribed in Hebrew caught my attention, and I bought it for seven piastres. Two copies of it are here given.



The gem is made of black paste, ovoid, 17 mm. long, 12 mm. broad, and 2-4 mm. thick. Inside the frame the figures of two men are carved in low relief, one walking behind the other. The first one has his hands bound together on his back, the second one grabs him with his left hand by the scruff of the neck, while his right hand holds a stick. Above the heads of these two persons three letters are well visible : לשר.

Originally I thought that these letters were an abridgment of a name like לשריה, and meant "belonging to Serayah"; but, as in the scene depicted, the transport of a prisoner is shown, the word לשר ("to the governor") would explain best the situation. We have here, therefore, an interesting illustration of I Kings xxiv, 26, 27 : "And the king of Israel said, Take Micaiah, and carry him back unto Amon the governor of the city (שר העיר), and to Joash the king's son; and say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction, until I come in peace."

I should suggest as an approximate date of this gem the middle of the eighth century B.C.

JERUSALEM,

23rd November, 1927.

31705

## NOTES ON RECENT EXCAVATIONS.

PROF. A. R. S. KENNEDY contributed to the *Glasgow Herald* some very instructive articles on "Palmyra and its Vanished Greatness" (November 22, 24, &c.). He pointed out that it has recently been found that the native name (Tadmor) goes back to the 12th century B.C., when Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1110 B.C.) claims to have smitten the Aramaeans "from Tadmor, which is in the country of the Amorites." How much Palmyra owed to Zenobia is familiar, but it is only in 1914 that her father's name was known through a bilingual inscription, which speaks of her as "daughter of Antiochus." It has been suggested that he was the Antiochus whom the Palmyrenes made king after the departure of Aurelian in A.D. 272, an act of rebellion which the emperor punished by the complete destruction of the city. It was the climax of Zenobia's effort, after the assassination of her husband, Odainath the Second (A.D. 267), to establish an empire from the Black Sea to the Nile. Coins of Alexandria and Antioch struck in A.D. 270-1 show that Rome was willing to recognize her as her representative in the East; but in the following year the ambitious queen had coins struck bearing herself alone or her son Athenodorus (Wahaballath) along with the epithet of Augusta or Augustus, thus challenging the supremacy of Rome.

Prof. Kennedy visited Palmyra as one of the delegates to the Archaeological Congress in April, 1926. He examined the traces, discovered by M. Gabriel in 1925, of a great wall or rampart made of an extraordinarily hard kind of concrete and extending beyond the circuit of Justinian's wall. This rampart, which must have been some eight miles or more in length, is regarded as the foundation of the city wall of Zenobia's day and testifies for the first time to the size of Palmyra before her greatness vanished. M. Gabriel's investigations (published in *Syria* in 1926) have added considerably to our knowledge of the city, its fine main street, equal to the length of Edinburgh's Princes Street, the numerous cross streets, forming *insulae* or blocks of houses, and the remains of at least two Christian churches, the largest (150 × 80 feet) being taken to be not earlier than the 4th century. The aviation park to the south-east of the city has proved to be one vast cemetery, and a mere scratching of the surfaces produces the well-known type of Palmyrene bust. Of the

earlier known tombs, "the tomb of the three brothers" is of special interest for its paintings, which illustrate Greek art in Syria at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

Prominence has been given in the Press to the statement of Dr. Ditlef Nielsen, of Copenhagen, that the true site of Sinai is the present Petra. The place was, he thinks, the centre of the worship of the new moon, and with this the name Sinai (Sin, the moon-god) would agree. The Israelite Yahmeh, too, was in the opinion of several scholars a lunar deity; and there are local traditions at Petra of early Israelite associations. The identification of Sinai with some mountain in the Sinaitic peninsula is late (it dates only to the early Christian centuries), and it is unlikely that Israel fleeing from Egypt would have gone to the Egyptian garrison centres in the peninsula. (See *The Times* of November 10.)

The excavations at Shechem continue to throw light upon the pre-Israelite city with its gateway and walls. "The Temple, built about 1300 B.C., contained an entrance hall, flanked with two tower-shaped projections, and a sanctuary divided into three naves. In the middle nave, on a pedestal, stood the image of the deity. South of the temple was a holy grove, marked out by strong walls. In the centre was a raised platform, which probably carried an altar. On the east side were three rectangular towers, which seem to have been chapels of minor deities. About two centuries after the destruction by Abimelech the site of the temple and grove was levelled out with marl under King Jeroboam and built upon." (*Jewish Chronicle*, October 7.)

From the same source is reported the result of excavations on the ruins of the two massive walls of Haram Ramet el-Khalil (2 miles north of Hebron). They prove to belong to the sanctuary and slave-market mentioned by Eusebius and others, which were set up by Hadrian about A.D. 135 with the help of materials taken from ruins of Herodian structures.

Of considerable importance for the American work at Beitin (Bethel) is the fact that two or three acres on the summit of the ancient tell are unoccupied, so that there will be nothing to hinder excavation there.

The work at Beisan (Beth-shan) continues to produce results of the highest interest. The *Illustrated London News* of November 12 gave some account, together with a series of excellent illustrations,

some in colour (see also *The Times* of October 10 and November 29). Two new Canaanite temples of c. 1500 B.C. were found—thus making six in all. A door-jamb, on the level of the age of Rameses II, bore the figure of the builder of what is now known as the Temple of Dagon. His name is Rameses-Wesr-Khepesh, and he was the commander of the Egyptian garrison. A curious stone bore the head of a deity with a figure holding a captive with his legs kicking in the air. In a temple dedicated to the war-god Resheph was a splendid lapis lazuli scarab with the inscription of Sesostri I. In one of the temples were two altars, one for the purposes of cult, the other for sacrifice. Cretan and Cypriot influence was seen in a handle of a vessel with two groups of linear signs resembling partly the Cretan and partly the old Cypriot writing. In the Amenophis III level (1411–1375 B.C.) were four pottery cult objects, with the head of an elephant, a bull, a dwarf-god, and an Astarte (surmounted by five plumes), respectively; also a Hittite seal with the figure of an elephant and certain Hittite hieroglyphs. Of Babylonian origin was a cylinder seal of the diviner Manum, the servant of the god Enki (Ea), dating about the 19th–18th centuries B.C. The view that serpent-cults especially prevailed in Beth-shan finds further support in the pottery model of a serpent with female breasts, and it has been conjectured that the name of the city itself points to the old Sumerian snake-deity whose Semitic name was Shahan. Amongst other finds were a bifurcated antler of a deer, which for some reason had been cut off; a pottery model of a human leg, pierced for suspension, and presumably a votive offering; and a series of bricks bearing the impressions made, while they were still plastic, by the feet of a child (of about 4–5 years of age), the paws of a dog, and the hoof of a gazelle. Mr. Rowe remarks, "We may picture the newly-made bricks lying on the brickmaker's field at the foot of the tell, and a little child, accompanied by her two pets, a dog and a gazelle, running and skipping about over them. This little episode of 3,200 years ago is as clearly conveyed to us by the imprints on the bricks as it would have been if we had found it recorded in writing."

An excellent summary of the various works of excavation now being undertaken throughout the Near East is given in Weidner's international journal, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 1927, Nos. 2–3, March–June.

S. A. G.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

*Researches in Prehistoric Galilee*, by F. Turville-Petre, 1925-6 (with chapters on the Animal remains by Dorothea M. Bate, and on the Geology by Charlotte Baynes), and a *Report on the Galilee Skull*, by Sir Arthur Keith. Published by the British School of Archaeology, in Jerusalem. Price £2 2s.

THIS volume is an important contribution to learning, and Mr. F. Turville-Petre is to be congratulated on his skill in having discovered caves in Galilee to yield him such interesting and important finds. A number of sites in the vicinity of the Plain of Genesareth were examined and the results are here described. The most important of these is the Cave of Mugharet-el-Zuttiyeh where excavation unearthed part of a Neanderthal skull associated with Mousterian tools. This is the first time that a human being belonging to this culture has been discovered in this part of the world, or, indeed, outside Europe. Apparently the cave in question was only inhabited by prehistoric man for a comparatively short time and other industries are absent, but animal remains are found at various levels throughout, and these have been carefully described by Miss Bate.

The industries themselves must certainly be accepted as Mousterian on typological grounds. Mousterian points and side-scrapers are found, made as a rule from a pinkish kind of chert. Discs, trimmed flakes, and blades also occur, as well as some *coups de poing* which may indicate a somewhat earlier occupation, but are more probably themselves Mousterian. Naturally, the most important find was a portion of a skull comprising an almost complete frontal bone, the right malar bone, and the great wing and small wing of the sphenoid of the right side. A report on the skull by Sir Arthur Keith is included and makes, of course, valuable reading.

Another cave containing tools belonging, apparently, to rather later industries was excavated and is here described, as also a number of surface finds from the Wadi Farah and other sites. These latter finds, perhaps, would repay more careful study, as they

probably belong to the Mesolithic cultures of Palestine, which are somewhat different from those we know further west, but correspond with those that have been partially described by Father Mallon in Syria.

The only criticism that one can make, perhaps, is that, reading between the lines, it would seem that the various excavations were made at some speed with native workmen. In these days of "Press and Pace" one can no longer hope for such careful digging as that undertaken by M. Daleau, who spent twenty years on the excavation of the cave of Pair-non-Pair, every cubic centimetre being turned over by himself personally. Too rapid excavation must be guarded against, however, as it must be remembered that a cave can only be excavated once! However, much precious information has been collected, and the British School of Archaeology is to be congratulated on the publication of this volume, as, too, is Mr. Turville-Petre, and the other writers to whom this volume is due.

M. C. BURKITT.

In the series noticed in the October *Q.S.* there should have been included Dr. Peter Thomsen's *Die neueren Forschungen in Palästina-Syrien* (Mohr, Tübingen, 1925). It is a popular survey comprising the recent history of excavations, with full bibliographical information and a brief statement of the most important results. A section is devoted to the importance of the subject for Biblical teachers. Throughout the treatment is judicious; for example, Dr. Thomsen sums up very clearly what the excavations have and have not done for the critical study of the Old Testament; how they have placed the Old Testament in a new light, but have not affected the foundations of modern literary criticism; how "Pan-Babylonism" has been destroyed; and how the influences from Egypt and the Levant have been found to be more powerful. The importance of the old discoveries at Serabit el-Khadim is explained, but the rather fantastic translations of some of the remarkable inscriptions found there are naturally repudiated. He lays emphasis upon the abundant evidence down to the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. for the presence of Egyptian amulets and Astarte figurines—the significance of the Hebrew prophets and their ultimate success in the face of the prevalent superstitions become thereby all the more remarkable. Dr. Thomsen's pamphlet should be better known: it is an admirable



synopsis for the layman, and the more expert reader will value his numerous notes and references.

Mention may here be made of the excellent articles on Palestine in the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, mostly by Dr. Thomsen. Among the most recent are his articles on Phoenicia, Ships, etc., and Philistines by Dr. Galling.

In the *American Geographical Review* (July), Miss Semple gives the result of a study of some 175 shrines on promontories, and of a dozen consecrated headlands where no record of any shrines survives. They are distributed over a wide area, from the apex of the Sinaitic peninsula to Cape Finisterre; and they were situated, naturally enough, where there were conflicting winds and currents, or other dangers to seamen, and where there were important landmarks, or where there were harbours into which it might be difficult to enter. Most of them date back to prehistoric times and were associated with marine deities, and such others as Astarte. In course of time the promontory heathen gods were replaced by saints, notably St. Nicholas in the Aegean and the Virgin Mary in the west. The interesting article is enriched by thirty-two plans and illustrations.

*The Vegetation of Palestine*, published by the Institute of Agriculture and Natural History, Agricultural Experiment Station (Tel-Aviv, June, 1927). This monograph, by A. Eig, of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, is a study of the flora of Palestine, and contains much that is of interest to others than students of the "phytogeography of the Anterior Orient." He states that the number of species of Palestine plants may be estimated at about 2,500, this large number being due to the diverse physical conditions (p. 22). The flora of the Jordan valley is essentially Ethiopian, its centres of distribution are Nubia and Abyssinia; it is also closely connected with the south of the Dead Sea, the Sinaitic peninsula and tropical Arabia (p. 79). In general the Palestine flora consists of two main elements: (1) that of the steppes and deserts of Anterior Asia and North Africa, and (2), as regards the majority of its elements, that of the Eastern Mediterranean from Greece through Asia Minor and Syria down to the south of the Judæan mountains. The latter connexion exists only between Mount Hermon and the Mediterranean; on all the other sides the connexions are with the former (p. 23).

S. A. C.

# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS. HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	
א	'		כ	<u>kh</u>	
ב	b		ל	l	
בּ	<u>bh</u>		מ	m	
ג	<u>g</u>		נ	n	
גּ	<u>gh</u>		ס	s	
ד	d		ע	'	
דּ	<u>dh</u>		פ	p	
ה	<u>h</u>		פּ	f	
ו	v, w		צ	<u>z</u>	
וּ	z		ק	<u>k</u>	
ח	<u>h</u>		ר	r	
ט	<u>t</u>		ש	<u>sh</u>	
י	y		שׁ	s	
כּ	k		ת	<u>t</u>	
			תּ	<u>th</u>	

## ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	
ا	'		ض	<u>d</u>	
ب	b		ط	<u>t</u>	
ت	<u>t</u>		ظ	<u>tz</u>	
ث	<u>th</u>		ع	'	
ج	<u>g</u>	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	<u>gh</u>	
ح	<u>h</u>		ف	f	
خ	<u>kh</u>		ك	<u>k</u>	
د	<u>d</u>		ل	l	
ذ	<u>dh</u>		م	m	
ر	r		ن	n	
ز	z		ه	h	
س	s		و	w	
ش	<u>sh</u>		ي	y	
ص	<u>z</u>				

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

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*Annual Subscribers of One Guinea, or more, will receive, in addition to the Quarterly Statement, the Memoir of the Excavation in progress, fully illustrated, when issued; they have also the privilege of purchasing the maps and publications of the Fund at reduced prices. The Quarterly Statement is a journal which records the progress of the Society's work, and matters of interest relating to Palestine.*

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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

It is hoped that it will be possible for the P.E.F. to resume the excavations on Mount Ophel in the coming autumn, if sufficient financial support is forthcoming. Mr. Crowfoot is at present engaged, on behalf of the *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, in archaeological work at Jerash in Transjordan, but he is ready and willing to put his services at the disposal of the P.E.F. when this work is finished at the latter part of the summer. More definite plans will be announced at the Annual Meeting next June and in the July number of the *Q.S.*

The following is communicated by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem :—

The School looks forward to a busy season. The Director expects to begin work at Jerash, an important Hellenistic and Roman site in Transjordan, about Easter. Besides the representative of Yale University which is bearing a large share of the cost of this excavation, he will have the assistance of Lieut.-Com. Buchanan, a retired naval officer, whose practical skill should be valuable in dealing with the large masses of masonry and structural problems ; and of Mr. A. H. M. Jones, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and his wife, a Somerville graduate, who were engaged last year in the excavation of the Hippodrome at Constantinople.

Later in the season, Mr. D. J. Chitty, of New College, Oxford, hopes to resume his exploration of the hermitage churches in the Wilderness of Judaea, and to clear the ruined church of St. Euthymius, which he examined in 1927.

Miss D. M. Garrod, whose recent exploration of the Gibraltar caves resulted in the discovery of an important Neanderthal skull, has already made a surface reconnaissance of untouched caves in Palestine, and begins excavation in April on a very promising Mousterian deposit near Lydda.

Another student of the School, Mr. W. J. Hine, of Exeter College, Oxford, is still attached, as principal archaeological assistant, to the American excavations at Beisān. It is satisfactory to know that at a time when the British School finds it difficult to find work for all its students, on projects of its own, their services are available, and are appreciated, by colleagues in Palestinian research whose resources are larger.

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Mr. G. M. FitzGerald has left Jerusalem, where he has held the post of Assistant Director in the British School of Archaeology since the summer of 1926. Mr. FitzGerald was the first student of the School, and since his admission he has never been long away from it. The wide experience of excavation which he has gained from work at Ur, with the American expedition at Beisān, and elsewhere, made his assistance in the recent excavation at Ophel most valuable; and his knowledge of the topography of Palestine, and the antiquities of Jerusalem, has been freely at the disposal of all visitors to the School, as well as to fellow-students. When Professor Garstang retired from the Directorship in the summer of 1926, Mr. FitzGerald was invited by the Council of the School to act as Assistant Director on the termination of his work at Beisān; and was in effective charge of the School until the arrival of the present Director in April, and again while Mr. Crowfoot was at home after the conclusion of the work at Ophel in October. After so long a residence in Palestine, several months of which were spent in the tropical climate of Beisān, Mr. FitzGerald is probably wise to return for a while to England. But it will be a great loss to the British School of Archaeology if he does not find his way back before long. He leaves in Palestine many friends, and a reputation for scholarly, assiduous, and unassuming work under varied and sometimes arduous conditions.



The work carried out at Beisān by the Palestine Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania continues to be crowned with success. Mr. Alan Rowe, the Field Director, has kindly sent us a very complete report with illustrations, and we have much pleasure in printing it in full in the current number. It is no exaggeration to describe it as one of the most interesting and important records of excavations in Palestine within the last few years. The light it throws upon ancient temples and their development is most welcome, and Mr. Rowe's elaborate plan, and explanatory photograph (Plate I), will repay careful study. Not the least noteworthy discovery is that of the god Mekal (Mekar or the like), of whom we shall hear more in the future. Already some account of the recent work at Beisān has appeared in the *Revue Biblique*, January (by Father Vincent); the *Illustrated London News*; and the *Pennsylvania Museum Journal* (December), in each case with a variety of illustrations. We are glad to be able to present the latest record, and our thanks are due to the courtesy and public-spiritedness of the Pennsylvanian Expedition for so freely and promptly making known to the world the discoveries which are giving us a new picture of early Palestine.

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Among miscellaneous items collected during the last quarter may be mentioned the following:—It has been reported that a fragment of an Egyptian stele describing the overthrow of a Mitannian army was found at Tabgha in Galilee. In a synagogue near Safed was found a stone with the signs of the zodiac. At Beirut the work of rebuilding has brought to light several traces of old buildings, notably to the south and south-west of the Grand Mosque, where some fine columns point to what must have been a large sanctuary. To the south of the Grand Mosque was discovered a stone with a Latin inscription to the effect that this temple was restored or embellished by Queen Berenice. A child's sarcophagus of granite, its four sides sculptured with winged infants, that was found at Beirut, is considered of considerable artistic value.—(From the *Egyptian Gazette*.) A concession was granted to an Italian archaeological mission, directed by Professor Giacomo Guidi, to undertake excavations at the acropolis of Amman. Yale University is co-operating with the British excavations at Jerash, as a supplement to the work it proposes to undertake at Dura on the Euphrates under Professor Rostovtzeff.

Professor Badé, who has been excavating at a site believed to be Mizpah, was led to it by an air-photograph taken by a German aviator during the Great War. The *New York Times* states that the photograph showed an important hill 7 miles north of Jerusalem, and around the brow of the hill appeared a sort of depression.

"Dr. Badé thought this depression indicated the site of an ancient buried wall of a fortress-city. He obtained an enlargement of the photograph from the war archives of the Bavarian Government, which strengthened his opinion. He dug, and found a great wall buried under the ground; it was 25 ft. thick at places and 40 ft. high, with bastions at the corners. Inside the wall was found the remains of the city believed to be Mizpah. The main discovery was the ruins of the ancient temple, buried deep under the debris of 2,700 years, and near the temple were evidences of cisterns and wells used in religious ceremonies. In digging down to the temple, Dr. Badé said, he found the remains of five different towns, the one built upon the other. He also found skeletons of the ancient inhabitants dating back 5,000 years. The temple was built by the Jews about 900 years before Christ, but through the temple foundation ran a wall built by the Canaanites, who occupied the land before the Jews arrived, and that was many centuries older than the temple. He obtained permission to make his excavations only after he had promised to cover up anything he found. So, after the wall and temple foundations had been photographed, the earth was thrown back."

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By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt dealing with that Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

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**Subscribers in the United States** are asked to kindly note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. W. M. Randall, of 55, Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

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*Antiques for Sale.*—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923-5. on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2s. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Professor Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1-212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

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Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4s. bound in cloth, and 2s. 6d. in paper covers.

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The new plan of Jerusalem, on a scale of approximately 1:5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 x 34 inches, and the price is 5s.; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 x 6 inches, price 9s. The latter form is the more convenient, as, owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

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The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

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The list of books received will be found below, p. 64 sq.

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions towards the Ophel excavations from:—

	£	s.	d.
Dr. Eliot Curwen ... ..	5	5	0
Capel Morris, Esq. ... ..	5	0	0
Miss E. M. Courthope ... ..	3	0	0
Rev. J. Hewetson ... ..	2	2	0
H. W. Michelmores, Esq. ... ..	2	2	0
Miss Farman ... ..	2	0	0
F. W. Green, Esq. ... ..	1	1	0
Mrs. Morice ... ..	1	1	0
Gilbert J. Taylor, Esq. ... ..	1	1	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn., U.S.A.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

*The Near East and India*, January 12th: The Dead Sea concession, its history and potentialities; March 8th: the Cairo-Baghdad air-mail.

*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. lvii.

*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, October, 1927: Christian Nubia, by J. W. Crowfoot; Copper in Ancient Egypt, by G. A. Lucas; head of a monarch of the Thutmosis house, in the British Museum, by H. R. Hall, etc.; Bibliography of Greek inscriptions, by M. H. Tod; of Christian Egypt, by De Lacy O'Leary.

*The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, November.

*Why is cultivated Egypt immune from malarial fever?* by Sir William Willcocks. (Reprint, Cairo.)

*The New Judaea*, December 30th: The Hebrew University, the chancellor's review of the work and achievements of the various departments.

*Annual Bulletin of the Academy of Medicine of Jerusalem*, 1926-7.

*Expository Times*, March: Commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, I, by A. S. Peake.

*Flowers of the Holy Land*, No. 3: Published by K. M. Reynolds, 8, Darnley Road, Notting Hill, London, W.11.

*American Journal of Philology*.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

*Homiletic Review*.

*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1926: The ritual bullfight (Crete, etc.), by C. W. Bishop.

*American Geographical Review*, January: An unnoticed ancient metropolis of Asia Minor, by W. H. von der Osten.

*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*: The Egyptian Expedition, 1925-7.

*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vol. vii, for 1925-6: Ancient remains in Lower Iraq, by R. P. Dougherty; an unpublished Greek inscription from Amman, by W. H. P. Hatch.

*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, January: The geographical terms, "Mizraim" and "Pathros," by N. Reich; notes on Hermon and Jordan, by E. Hommel.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, January.

*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, October: Christian archaeology in Palestine, by R. Butin; notes on the "primitive alphabetic inscriptions in Sinai," etc. December: Annual Reports.

- Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania*, December: Tomb sculptures from Palmyra, by L. Legrain; discovery of royal tombs at Ur of the Chaldees, by the same; the expedition at Beisān, by Alan Rowe.
- Syria*, viii, 4: Excavation of el-Mishrifeh (Qatna), by Count du Mesnil du Buisson; Kasr el-Heir, by Albert Gabriel; the Syrians in Spain and the Adonia at Seville, by F. Cumont.
- Revue Biblique*, January: The Amorites, by Father Dhorme; The third wall of Jerusalem, by Father Vincent; The American excavations at Beisān, by the same. (Several valuable reviews on important archaeological works, also by Vincent.)
- Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1926: The origins of the representation of human figures in Greek art, by W. Deonna.
- Journal Asiatique*, April-June, 1927.
- Note di Critica Ceramica*, by Dott. Gaetano Ballardini, Faenza, 1918 (on Oriental elements in the decoration of early majolica, etc.).
- Biblica*, October-December, 1927: The Gadd chronicle and the chronology of the kings of Judah, by B. Alfrink; The excavations at Ophel and at Tell en-Nasbeh, by A. Mallon. January-March, 1928: The German excavations at Mamre, by A. E. Mader.
- Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, by Dr. Gustaf Dalman, 279 pp., with 37 illustrations, 1928.
- Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. 1: Excavations at Shechem, summer, 1927, by E. Sellin; The attitude of the Arabs to the recent development of Palestine and Transjordan, by G. K. Kampffmeyer; archaeological report, by K. Galling; meteorological observations in Palestine, by M. Blanckenhorn.
- Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*: "Philistines," etc., by Galling; "Horse," "Cattle," "Plough," "Ship," "Phoenicia," "Samaria," etc., by Peter Thomsen (offprints).
- Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1927: Western cultural influences upon ancient Palestine, by J. Hempel (valuable, illustrated); the fight for Beth-ter, by H. Strathmann; stories told by Palestinian peasant women, by Hilma Granqvist.
- Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testament: eine archäolog. Untersuchung*, by Max Löhr (Königsberg, 1927).

*The Altars of The Old Testament* (Beigabe zur *orientalist. Literaturzeitung*), 1927, by Harold M. Wiener.

*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, December, 1927: House—Tomb—Temple in early Mesopotamia, by W. Andrae; January, 1928: The Babylonian goddess in the window, by H. Zimmern; February: The chronology of the IVth Egyptian dynasty, by A. Scharff; March: Sennacherib and Hezekiah, by J. Lewy.

*Archiv für Orientforschung, Internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient*, iv, 2-3: The age of the objects found in the temples of Byblus, by Von Bissing.

*Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1927, iv: The Passover, by N. M. Nicolsky; descriptive survey of contents of important journals, etc., by J. Hempel.

*Akademiya Nauk Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leningrad): Iran I, edited by V. V. Barthold, 1927.

*Palestine Museum, Jerusalem, Bulletin*, No. 4: Selected types of Iron Age and Hellenistic pottery, by G. R. Levy.

*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vii, 3: The Ramah of Samuel, by H. M. Wiener; Koursi, by F. M. Abel; The end of the Inscription on the Ahiram Sarcophagus, by W. F. Albright; Arabic Text of Mr. Stephan's "Animals in Palestinian folk-lore."

*La Revue de l'Académie Arabe*, Damascus, November-December.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

*Al-Mashrik*, January, 1928: Father Louis Cheikho, *In Memoriam*, by the Editor; the convent of Sinai, by Ahmad Shafik Pasha; February: Articles by Dr. Beshir Kassar and Fouad E. Bostany, on the late Father Cheikho; March: P. Lammens on the same; the ruins of Babylon, by A. S. Marmardji; Christian origins in the Lebanon, by P. Ghaleb.

Presented by Mr. E. J. Pilcher:—

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1928.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

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The Annual Report with Accounts and List of Subscriptions for the year 1927 is issued to members with this Number.

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#### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.

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DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH.

## THE LATE DR. DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH.

IN the last issue of the *Q.S.* appeared a brief note of the sudden death of Dr. Hogarth, and it is thought that an outline of his life and work may be of interest to the Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund, amongst whom may be counted many of his friends, and to whom he was well known as the Chairman of the Executive Committee for three years after the conclusion of the war.

David George Hogarth was the eldest son of the Rev. George Hogarth, vicar of Barton-on-Humber. The vicar was himself the son of the Rev. David Hogarth, Presbyterian minister of Makerstoun, Roxburghshire. The church at Barton-on-Humber is well known to architects and archaeologists for its primitive Saxon tower. Mrs. Courtney, Dr. Hogarth's sister, remarks that, "Barton became a place of pilgrimage to antiquaries, and, . . . even as children, we learned to chatter the language of Archaeology." Mrs. Courtney adds that, "David knew the churches in and out, and climbed up amongst the bells and into all the forbidden parts, but he did not as a boy show any special antiquarian tastes."<sup>1</sup>

He was born in 1862, and in 1876 he was sent to Winchester, Dr. Ridding being then head-master. Here he remained until 1881, in which year he won a classical demyship at Magdalen College, Oxford. While there he distinguished himself in classical studies, and was a popular undergraduate, athlete, and good at work and games. In 1886 he was appointed Classical Lecturer and Fellow of the College, and in 1893 was elected a Research Fellow, "with a view to his prosecuting archaeological investigations in the Levant." But before this, in 1887, he had commenced his many years of archaeological travel and exploration in the East. In the winter of that year, after a journey in Asia Minor with Sir William Ramsay, he was put in charge of some excavations in Cyprus; and, in the ten years following, we find him in Egypt, Asia Minor, Crete and elsewhere, engaged in archaeological discovery. From 1897 to 1900 he was Director of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. In 1908, on the resignation of Sir Arthur Evans, he was appointed

<sup>1</sup> *The Fortnightly Review*, January, 1928.

Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, a post which he retained until his death.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Great War he became Director of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, a post for which his knowledge of the Near East and of Arabian matters rendered him peculiarly fitted. After organizing the Arab Bureau he returned to London, but in 1918 he went back to Cairo to assist the authorities with his special knowledge, and at the Paris Peace Conference he was the British Commissioner for the Middle-East Commission.

Of the many books written by him, the best known are *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant* (1896), *The Penetration of Arabia* (1904), and *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life* (1910). *The Wandering Scholar* and *Accidents* were combined in one volume, which he published in 1924 under the title *The Wandering Scholar*. This is a delightful book, dealing with researches in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Lycia, Crete, Egypt, Cyrene, and Syria. Old and new are mingled: the trials and difficulties of the traveller and antiquary; the well-known features of Turkish government; the primitive virtues of the Anatolian; accounts of stones with Hittite inscriptions; the treasures of the House of Artemis of Ephesus; and many another fragment of antiquity. The following will give an idea of the style of the book to those who may not have read it:—

“We have spent three days in Konia, which we reached in three hours from Tatkoï. All thought of riding further is at an end, since B. has become steadily worse and cannot sit a horse. The only resort is a native wagon, and I have found a wagoner who will take us all to Selefke, in five days, for fifteen dollars. Heaven knows what the journey will be like, for the wagon has no sort of springs, and the road is said to be unmetalled. . . . I have seen something of this old, old city, the first, according to one legend, to emerge after the Deluge. It saw Cyrus pass with his Greeks, and received St. Paul, and Frederick Barbarossa after his last great victory. Now it is dying, the half of it waste, and even the mud core of the Seljuk walls, displaying inverted impressions of Greek and Latin inscriptions where the facing marbles have been stripped, is disappearing fast. There is very little left of Greek Iconium, except the Christian community at Sillé hard by, whose forefathers listened to St. Paul, and Roman monolithic columns in the mosques. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Wandering Scholar*, D. G. Hogarth (Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 31, 32.

In 1917 he was awarded the Founder's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society for his many contributions to the ancient and modern geography of the lands in which he had travelled; in 1925 he was elected President of that Society, but he only lived to occupy that post for two years. In 1919 he was, on the death of Dr. Leonard King, appointed Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund; he resigned the Chairmanship in 1922, owing to the many duties which he had to carry out at Oxford. He was probably then beginning to feel the necessity of economizing, in some degree, his strength, affected not only by his travels for thirty years, but most likely also by the strenuous work carried out to the utmost of his powers during the war. He died of heart failure, in his sleep, on the morning of Sunday, November 6th, 1927.

He will be remembered by those who worked with him as a fine speaker on public occasions, an excellent administrator, and a learned, kindly colleague; a man who combined, in a high degree, powers of action and of thought, and whose long experience in the realms of classical lore, exploration and archaeology was ever at the disposal of those who desired to benefit by it.

C. F. C.

In the *American Geographic Review* of January, 1928, the eminent Egyptologist Professor James Breasted contributed an obituary, from which we quote the following passages:—

"At a time when Great Britain never was in sorer need of statesmanlike scientists with vision and administrative ability, there was no man in the whole range of archaeological activity whom we could so hardly spare. While the loss to Science is severe, the loss to his friends is even more grievous. In a long experience with men of his type, I have never met another who combined in so high a degree scientific ability and personal charm.

"Hogarth possessed the confidence of the British Government, and I might say of all governments having anything to do with the Near East, to an extent perhaps unequalled by any other scientific man, and certainly by no other man of Science at work in the Near East. It is not generally known that one of Hogarth's greatest services to Science was lost to the world through the dilatoriness of the Lloyd George régime in dealing with the Turks after the triumph of the Allies, a policy which was as costly to Science in the territory

of the former Ottoman Empire as it has also been in Egypt. A group of American archaeologists, among whom the lamented Howard Crosby Butler was prominent, drew up a set of conditions which for the first time in history would have ensured to Science the right to carry on scientific investigation throughout the territory of the former Ottoman Empire. When these conditions were placed before the Peace Commissioners assembled in Paris, it was the influence of Hogarth, officially representing Great Britain, which had more to do with convincing the Commissioners of the wisdom of the proposed provisions than that of any other representative. The stipulations were incorporated in the Treaty of Sèvres, but they were unhappily not carried over into the Treaty of Lausanne. It was in such situations that a scholar-statesman like Hogarth was able to render services of incalculable value to Science.

"The writer recalls among the pleasantest memories of his life the privilege of receiving Hogarth as a guest when the great archaeologist was lecturing in America for the last time. A lecturer of singular charm, his addresses on the civilization of the Hittites drew large audiences. He was equally attractive as a writer; and many a reader who might never have known the delights of archaeological and geographical explorations has made their acquaintance in Hogarth's beguiling volume, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*. He turned aside from such studies long enough to write a life of Alexander and his father, Philip of Macedon; but it was especially exploration that attracted him, and although he never equipped himself as an Orientalist or an Arabist, philologically speaking, he was deeply interested in Arabia. His Arabian studies are among his most useful books."

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# EXCAVATIONS AT BEISĀN DURING THE 1927 SEASON. TWO TEMPLES OF THOTHMES III, ETC.

By ALAN ROWE.

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IN the *Q.S.* for January, 1928, pp. 53 and 54, Dr. S. A. Cook wrote a brief review of my already published articles<sup>2</sup> on the first part of the work of the 1927 season carried out at Beisān by the Palestine Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. It is now my intention to supplement this review by giving some account of the interesting finds made since the above-mentioned articles were written. Full illustrated accounts of the work of the season will be found in the present writer's articles in *The Museum Journal* for December, 1927, and March, 1928.

The main work in 1927 was carried out in the following city-levels on the tell :—No. IX : Thothmes III (1501 B.C.—1447 B.C.) ; No. VIII : Pre-Amenophis III (1446 B.C.—1412 B.C.) ; No. VII : Amenophis III, etc. (1411 B.C.—1314 B.C.) ; No. VI : Seti I (1313 B.C.—1292 B.C.) ; No. V : Rameses II (1292 B.C.—1225 B.C.) ; and No. II : Byzantine (330 A.D.—636 A.D.). Practically nothing was done in levels No. IV : Late Ramesside to Old Persian, etc. (1244 B.C.—302 B.C.) ; No. III : Hellenistic to Roman (301 B.C.—329 A.D.) ; and No. I : Arabic, Crusader, etc. (636 A.D.—19th century (approx.)). Details of all these levels, with the exception of No. IX, are given in the *Q.S.* for April, 1927, pp. 67–84. It may be added here, however, that a small mosque was found in the Arabic level in 1921. There have now been discovered altogether nine sacred buildings on the tell : that is to say, an Arabic mosque ; a Byzantine circular church ; a Hellenistic temple ; and six Canaanite temples, two of which

<sup>1</sup> Special to the *Q.S.* of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

<sup>2</sup> See also the long illustrated review by Rev. Père L. H. Vincent, " Les fouilles américaines de Beisān," in the *Revue Biblique*, Jan., 1928.

belong to Rameses II, one to Seti I, one to Amenophis III, and two to Thothmes III. All the Canaanite temples have been unearthed since the year 1925, the two temples of Thothmes III being excavated in the 1927 season.

DETAILS OF THE NINE CITY-LEVELS ALREADY FOUND ON TELL EL-HOSN, OR "MOUND OF THE FORTRESS," AT BEISÂN.<sup>1</sup>

CITY-LEVEL ON TELL.	HISTORICAL PERIODS REPRESENTED BY EACH LEVEL.	DATES.
IX.	Thothmes III. ( <i>Two Canaanite Temples.</i> Southern one for "Mekal, the god of Beth-Shan," and northern one for his female counterpart)	1501 B.C.—1447 B.C.
VIII.	Pre-Amenophis III      ....	1446 B.C.—1412 B.C.
VII.	Amenophis III and Post-Amenophis III. ( <i>Canaanite Temple</i> )	1411 B.C.—1314 B.C.
VI.	Seti I. Two levels—Late Seti; Early Seti. ( <i>Canaanite Temple</i> )	1313 B.C.—1292 B.C.
V.	Rameses II. ( <i>Two Canaanite Temples.</i> Southern one for the god Resheph—the "temple of Dagon" of I Chron. x, 10, and northern one for the goddess Antit —the "House of Ashtaroth" of I Sam. xxxi, 10. Both were in use until at least Israelitish times, i.e. c. 1000 B.C.)	1292 B.C.—1225 B.C.
IV.	Late Ramesside, Philistine, Israelite, Assyrian, Scythian, New Babylonian, Old Persian, etc.	1224 B.C.—302 B.C.
III.	Hellenistic ( <i>Temple</i> ), Jewish and Roman	301 B.C.—329 A.D.
II.	Byzantine, or Eastern Roman Christian. ( <i>Circular Church</i> )	330 A.D.—636 A.D.
I.	Arabic ( <i>Mosque</i> ), Crusader, etc.....	636 A.D.—19th century (approx.).

*Temples of Thothmes III.*

In the excavated portion of the Thothmes III level are two Canaanite temples. Both are made of brick with stone foundations, and have low brick pedestals on their walls, evidently for the purpose of holding the posts supporting the boards with which the temples

<sup>1</sup> The length of the base of the tell from north-east to south-west is about 900 ft. The original height of the mound at the south was 134 ft., and at the north 213 ft. The top of the Arabic level was 346 ft. below the level of the Mediterranean Sea. City-levels Nos. IX, VIII, VII, VI and V have only been partially excavated; the base of No. IX level is nearly 50 ft. below the original top of the tell.



seem to have been screened. The southern temple, the larger of the two, was made for a god called "Mekal, the god of Beth-Shan," while the northern temple was doubtless made for his female counterpart. An analogy to these two temples was to be seen in the level of Rameses II, where we found a large southern temple dedicated to the god Resheph and a small northern temple dedicated to the goddess Antit-Ashtoreth.

*The Northern Temple of Thothmes III.*—This is not yet entirely cleared. It consists of a room, roughly rectangular in shape, with a dividing wall running across it from south to north. There are four brick pedestals on its eastern wall, and a flight of five steps on its northern side leading down to a lower level as yet only partially excavated. Nothing of importance has so far come from the temple itself, but in a room to the south-west of it was lying a pottery bowl with an undulating serpent in high-relief on its exterior. This serpent-bowl is of the utmost importance, as it indicates that ophiolatry, so prevalent in Beisân during the reigns of all the later Egyptian kings who controlled the town, was already practised there in the time of Thothmes III. The excavations have shown that Beisân was the centre of a great serpent-cult in Palestine, and one wonders whether its ancient name, "Beth-Shan," or "House of Shan," reflects a far distant connection with the old Mesopotamian serpent-deity named "Shakhan," "Shahan," or "Sakhan." The University Museum actually possesses a cylinder seal (c. 1900 B.C.) showing in male form the figure of this deity, who is called "Shakhan, son of Shamash (i.e. the sun-god)." Behind him is the caduceus or staff with two serpents coiled around it (cf. *The Museum Journal*, 1923, p. 156 sq.). The deity appears elsewhere both in male and in female form. (See also Albright, "The Goddess of Life and Wisdom," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xxxvi, July, 1920, p. 274.) From the various figurines of serpents with

<sup>1</sup> Père Vincent (*Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 138, note 1) writes:—"Le P. Dhorme me signale que l'intermédiaire serait le dieu *Sha-an* qui figure dans un ancienne lettre babylonienne: 'Que le dieu Shamash et ton dieu, le dieu *Sha-an*, te fassent vivre.' (*Cuneiform texts* . . . II, pl. 49, l. 4 sq.)." Cf. Jirku, *Allorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, p. 135; this writer seems not then to have been aware, however, that Shakan was a serpent-deity. Another note by the same writer, who kindly sent me a copy of it, appeared in "Zur Götterwelt Palästinas und Syriens," in the *Sellin-Festschrift*, 1927, pp. 83 and 84. See also Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pp. 120 and 157.

breasts of a woman on them found at Beisân, it seems fairly certain that the serpent-deity of the town was a female one. We may thus well assume that the goddess worshipped in the northern temple of Thothmes III was in serpent form. Was her original name Shakhan?

From certain small rooms to the east of the temple came three faience cylinder seals showing figures of stags, men, and sacred trees; a small bronze model of a human hand, emblematic of the god Bes; small pottery models (votive offerings) of bowls, dishes, and jugs; a bull's head attachment from a *kernos* or hollow ring of pottery; and a wheel from the pottery model of a chariot.

*Southern Temple of Thothmes III.*—This temple is about 138 ft. in length from south to north, but what its breadth is we do not know at present, as there is still a strip of debris to be removed from along the western side of the building. All the rooms of the temple can be seen quite clearly on the photograph and plan published with this article (see Plan and Plate I). These rooms consist of:—

(1) *The Inner Sanctuary.*—This has an internal measurement from south to north of 46 ft. It contains two altars, one of brick and one of stone. Upon the former altar, which has a flight of three steps leading up to it, as well as a stone libation basin on its eastern side for blood offerings to the deity, were originally placed the various sacred objects: jewellery, beads, and so on, which were found lying on the ground round about. The best object of the lot is a libation cup or chalice, decorated with dark purple-red designs on a red background and about 10 in. in height. Near the cup was a two-handled cylindrical stand, open at the base and top, for the purpose of holding the flowers and fruit which were placed in it during the various festivals associated with vegetation. Other objects from near the brick altar consist of a gold-covered bronze figurine of a god; a pottery figurine of Ashtoreth; a beautiful amethyst scarab of Sesostri I of the XIIth Dynasty (1970–1935 B.C.); an ivory inlay representing a seated man with prognathous features, his arms raised to the level of his head; an ivory cosmetic pot on a stand (its upper portion is something like the cosmetic pot shown in Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii, p. 17, fig. 292); Canaanite single-spouted open lamps of pottery; part of a pig-headed cylindrical cult-object; two Cypriote gold pins; scarabs and scaraboids; a steatite jewellery mould; and a Hittite bronze dagger with a curved end. This dagger is very much like a dagger worn by a Hittite

king represented on a gateway in the Hittite capital of Boghaz-keui in Anatolia; and it is interesting to recall the fact that the axe which the king holds is very similar to an axe found in the Amenophis III temple at Beisân in 1926 (see Plate II). A very valuable object, quite new to Palestine archaeology, is a very nice portable panelled Cretan altar-stand of basalt with a cross with knobbed ends in high-relief on its top<sup>1</sup> (Plate III, 1). The "star" sign, in Crete, was a general indication of divinity (see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 513-17; *Scripta Minoa*, p. 222, No. 112, and pp. 66 and 233). Upon the stone altar in front of the brick altar were placed the various meat-offerings. As a matter of fact, we actually found the shoulder-blade of a young bull near the altar, which must have formed part of an animal-sacrifice made in the temple, to which we shall refer later on. From the southern side of the sanctuary came an Egyptian green-glazed faience bowl bearing a few hieroglyphs on it forming part of the name of some god, and perhaps part of the name "Beth-Shan."

(2) *The Sacrificial-altar Room*.—This room, which is just to the south of the inner sanctuary, has a great sacrificial altar of brick built in its north wall. The altar has two steps (with a basalt block on the lower step) leading up to it from the entrance passage of the sanctuary; in the top of it is a channel for conveying the blood of the sacrificed animals to an outlet at the east of the altar. In the southern side of the channel is a socket for the peg to which the animal was tethered. The temple described in Ezek. xl also had its altar of sacrifice outside the inner sanctuary and an altar inside the sanctuary. Just against the south side of the sacrificial altar were lying the two horns of a bull that had been sacrificed upon the altar, while to the west of the altar, but in the courtyard (which is just west of the sacrificial room), were the collar-bone of a bull and also a sacrificial dagger of bronze. Doubtless these skeletal remains, as well as the shoulder-blade in the sanctuary, belonged to one and the same animal, which must have been the last to have been sacrificed in the temple. The age of the bull in question was fixed by my Chief Assistant, Mr. H. J. Hine, who is a trained anthropologist, at three years, and in this respect we are at once reminded of the sacrificed bullock of three years old referred to in I Sam. i, 24 and 25, R.V., margin.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the altar-stone with knobs on the corners of its top published by Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii, p. 424; also the more developed type of altar having on its top four bosses or knobs at the corners, found by Sellin at Shechem (*Q.S.*, Oct., 1926, p. 206).

Near the place in the courtyard where the collar-bone and dagger were lying we found the socket of the pole upon which the carcasses of the animals were dressed—compare the sacrificed bull hanging from the pole, shown in the Papyrus of Anhai in the British Museum: Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, i, p. 47. Near the socket was a heavy bronze pendant, about 5 in. in height and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. in breadth, on which is represented a lion leaping on a bull. There seems to be no doubt whatever that this pendant was suspended from the neck of the animal to be sacrificed. Perhaps the bull was decorated, and paraded within the precincts of the temple, before it was slaughtered, so that the laity could see it. From a small room in the south side of the sacrificial-altar room came a beautiful vase supported by four carved legs on a large base; this type of vase is unknown elsewhere and has designs in black and red.

(3) *Southern Corridor of Temple*.—This seems to have been for the use of the laity (who were, of course, not permitted inside the inner sanctuary, which was reserved for the priests), so that they could enter the outer part of the temple and pour their blood libations upon the *mazzebah*, or sacred stone column, in the room to the north of the east end of the corridor. The *mazzebah* consists of a cone-shaped piece of basalt resting upon a base of unhewn stones. About 45 in. to the south-west of the *mazzebah* is a basalt libation bowl, which no doubt once had a shallow channel leading to it from the column, in order to convey to the bowl the libations which drained off the column. The floor around the *mazzebah* and bowl is of brick (see Plate IV). There are four stone bases near the *mazzebah*, upon three of which were doubtless set up various sacred cult-objects. The fourth base, which is placed against the west wall of the *mazzebah*-room, was perhaps the pedestal upon which the stele showing the figure of Mekal, the god of the temple, was placed. The stele was found very near this point.

It may here be mentioned that whereas the *mazzebah*, in accordance with Canaanite custom, sufficed for the people of Beisân as the emblem of their deity, a stele or statue showing the deity in anthropomorphic or other form was necessary to the Egyptians in the town, who could hardly visualize a god other than in human, animal, or other shape. As a matter of fact, the whole of the southern temple of Thothmes III really forms a combination of an old Canaanite "High Place" (generally a crudely walled sanctuary open to the

sky, with sacred columns in it) and a temple with altars, etc. The "High Place" part of the Thothmes temple is of course the part containing the *mazzebah* and libation bowl, and may well have formed the original sanctuary in the level, the rooms with altars, etc., perhaps, being added at a later date. In any event, the *mazzebah* itself was no doubt brought up from a "High Place" in an earlier level on the tell; in fact, it was probably used over and over again since time immemorial. We have, therefore, and for the first time in the history of excavation, actually discovered the transition from the representation of a god in the form of a column to human form and also the transition from a "High Place" to a temple.

### *The Stele of Mekal.*

The stele of Mekal "the god of Beth-Shan" is of the utmost importance, as it not only provides us with the name of the local Baal (who is here met with for the first time in history), but it also gives us a representation of the god himself. The monument was made for a "builder" named Amen-em-Apt by his son Pa-Ra-em-Heb (see Plate V).

*Stele Upper-Register.*—Here is represented Mekal seated on a throne holding the *was*-sceptre of "happiness" in his left hand and the *ankh*-symbol of "life" in his right hand. He is bearded, has an ornamented collar, and wears a conical helmet with two horns and two streamers attached to it. The helmet is Babylonian in appearance, and, as pointed out to me by Père Vincent, is also very like the helmet with two horns and streamer worn by the god Set or Sutekh (who holds the *was* and *ankh* emblems) figured on the stele of the XIXth-XXth Dynasty from Sinai published by Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*, p. 126, fig. 134), and by Gardiner and Peet (*The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. LXXIX, No. 308; p. 15). Mekal is also dressed like the figure of the god Resheph (identified with Sutekh) on a stele in the Berlin Museum (Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 155). (See also the helmet with streamer and uraeus (?) belonging to the figure of the unknown Syrian god on a steatite plaque of the time of Rameses II found at Zagazig in Egypt.) This god is in human form and has outstretched wings. He is represented as spearing a serpent, which he holds by the neck (see Griffith, "The God Set of Ramessu II, and an Egypto-Syrian deity," *P.S.B.A.*, xvi, p. 89). We as yet know nothing definite from other sources about

Mekal. In late Phœnician inscriptions found in Cyprus are references to a god called Mekel or Reshep-Mekel, the latter being translated into Greek as "Apollo Amyclæus," generally identified with the Apollo of Amyclæ in Lacedaemon. Dr. W. F. Albright gives me the following references to this god<sup>1</sup>:—*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I, 86 A-B, a list of temple payments from the 4th century B.C.; A 13 and B 5 introduce us to the "house of Mekel," and the "stylobates (?) of Mekel,"; *C.I.S.*, I, 90, 91, 93, 94, mention Reshep-Mekel as the chief god of Idalium in Cyprus; while *C.I.S.*, I, 89, gives the above-mentioned reference to Apollo Amyclæus (cf. Cooke, *A Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 76).<sup>2</sup>

Whether the Phœnician Mekel is a later form of the old Canaanite deity Mekal worshipped at Beisân is very doubtful, but in any case the god on the Beisân stele may be a form of Resheph. We certainly know that Resheph was the Baal of Beisân in the time of Rameses II, for we found his figure in the southern temple of that king—the "temple of Dagon" of I Chron. x, 10. In this instance Resheph wears the conical crown with the head of a gazelle and two streamers attached to it, and holds a scimitar in his left hand and *ankh* in his right hand. *Resheph* means "fiery shafts," "lightning," "burning heat," "pestilence," etc., while it is just possible that *Mekal* may be connected with the Hebrew verb *akal*—see, for instance, II Kings i, 14—meaning "to devour." If this is so, the attributes of Resheph the god of heat, pestilence, etc., are practically the same as those of Mekal, "The Fierce Devourer," whose name must surely refer to the great heat and general unhealthiness of Beisân in the summertime. It might be, however, that *Mekal* is an intentional transposition of the word *Melak* or *Malek* (=Molech; see Jer. xxxii, 35), "king," the god of devouring fire and pestilence. Above the figure of the god on the new Beisân stele are written the words "Mekal, the god of Beth-Shan." Over the top of his sceptre is an emblem not yet identified, while between the sceptre and the face of the deity is shown some object which is now partly broken away. In front of Mekal are the figures of Amen-em-Apt and Pa-Ra-em-Heb. The five lines of inscription above read:—"Made for the builder Amen-em-Apt, true of word, by his son, Pa-Ra-em-Heb."

<sup>1</sup> See also Myres, *Handbook of Cesnola Collection*, pp. 126 sq., 306 sq.

<sup>2</sup> There is also a god Makar in the inscriptions of Thasos. Like Mekel he is doubtless to be identified with the Phœnician Melkart; cf. Fennell, *Ency. Brit.*, s.v. "Hercules," vol. xiii, p. 346.

*Stele Lower-Register.*—This originally had four lines of vertical text, the last one of which, now broken away, mentioned the name of Pa-Ra-em-Heb. The text contains a prayer to Mekal that he may grant life, prosperity, health, etc., for "the *ka* of the one favoured of his god, the builder, Amen-em-Apt." To the right of the hieroglyphs are a flower, an altar stand, and parts of the figures of the father and son.

A number of cigar-shaped mud models of bread-cakes, each  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length, were found in the corridor. These are votive offerings; cf. the "cakes of the queen of heaven (*i.e.* Ashtoreth)" of Jer. vii, 17 *sq.* Near the models was lying the snout-portion of a pottery hippopotamus, perhaps from some cylindrical cult-object. The complete figure of a hippopotamus was found in the Seti I level in 1925. Compare also the tooth of the hippopotamus found at Tell el-Hesi (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 192), and the hippopotamus tooth and figurine from Gezer (Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii, p. 17). This animal, as Père Vincent points out, was, of course, connected with the god Set; and its representations afford further evidence of the presence of the local worship of a deity with the attributes of Set or Sutekh, the god of storms, etc., and the more or less associated Resheph, the god of lightning, etc. For the Typhonic aspect of Set as the god of storms, see the footnote below.

(4) *Courtyard west of Inner Sanctuary.*—The courtyard is just to the west of the inner sanctuary, and has a door at its east leading into the sanctuary and one at its north opening into an ante-room. This ante-room is connected with a small corridor leading to the northern temple. We have already spoken of the socket of the pole for dressing the bull's carcass, the bull's collar-bone, the sacrificial dagger, and the large animal-pendant found in the courtyard. We must now mention that to the south of the socket, and immediately west of the altar of sacrifice, is a small room which could well have been used as a temporary stable for the animal itself. In the centre of the courtyard are two table-like structures of brick with a small brick pedestal between them. Upon these two tables were doubtless placed those cooked portions of the sacrificed bull which were not offered up to the deity in the inner sanctuary, and which were doubtless

<sup>1</sup> An important article on Mekal of Beisân will be published by Père Vincent in the forthcoming July number of the *Revue Biblique*. In this article the learned writer will give his own views on the meaning of *Mekal*.

eaten by the laity outside the temple itself. The portions for the deity were probably eaten in the sanctuary by the priests (see I Sam. ii, 14 sq., and I Sam. i, 18, in the LXX; also Driver, *Books of Samuel*, p. 15). The small pedestal between the tables perhaps held the implements with which the flesh was divided (cf. Ezek. xl, 42).

(5) *Room north of Inner Sanctuary.*—The exact significance of this room is not yet certain. On its eastern wall was found a pole-socket, the use of which is doubtful; a piece of fluted moulding was found near the socket. On the *outside* of the north-eastern corner of the room we discovered a very nice head of a basalt statuette of a person, or deity, wearing a wig. Beyond pottery models of a bowl and pot, and a quantity of basalt weights, nothing much of interest was found in the room. Père Vincent (*Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 132 sq.) refers to this "quantité de poids en basalt qui font penser à des poids-étalons déposés dans le sanctuaire (cf. le 'poids sacré' de la Bible, Exod. xxx, 13 and 24; xxxviii, 24 and 26; Lévit. v, 15; xxvii, 3 and 25, etc.), ou qui du moins servirent à la vérification des offrandes en nature accumulées dans les magasins sacrés."

### *Pre-Amenophis III Level.*

From this level came a pottery mould for making figurines of the goddess Ashtoreth; a quantity of mud models of cake-offerings, some cylindrical and some like a thick disk with a hole in the centre; various serpent-cult objects, one representing a serpent with human breasts and a milk-bowl beneath them, and one representing a serpent with human breasts with a small serpent coiled round its neck; and the upper part of a life-sized head of a deity in pottery. This deity has the hair on the head brushed back, and very prominent eyebrow ridges, thus indicating Mesopotamian influence. In the top of the head are some holes in which perhaps actual plumes were inserted. One of the most interesting discoveries in this level consisted of a drain from *in situ* beneath the floor of a street. This was made out of two two-handled pottery cylindrical drain-pipes both in a vertical position, the smaller end of the upper one being inserted in the larger end of the lower one. The mouth of the former drain-pipe was on a level with the street floor, while the base of the latter rested upon some undressed stones. These pipes are almost similar to the drain-pipes with handles of Middle Minoan I age (2100-1900 B.C.) found in Crete (cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 143).



Most interesting of all from this level was part of a pig-headed cult-object.<sup>1</sup>

*Amenophis III Level.*

In this level we discovered three long streets, the walls of which were about 6 ft. in height and very well preserved. At least two of the rooms in the area had barrel-vaults of brick, and it would also appear that one of the streets had a roof of a similar nature. Just to the east of the area where the Amenophis temple was situated we found two rooms with a clay socket in each, for the purpose, no doubt, of holding the poles for the carcasses of the sacred animals which were sacrificed within the temple precincts. These dressing-poles, therefore, served the same purpose as the pole in the temple of Thothmes III already referred to above. The pole in the room next to the Amenophis temple was upright, and had a pottery-bowl beneath it for the blood, reminding us exactly of the pole and pot shown in the Papyrus of Anhai. The pole in the other room sloped at an angle of 31 deg. from the vertical. It had no pot below it, but *behind* it was a small circular receptacle of brick.

<sup>1</sup> A cylindrical cult-object with the head of a pig was found in the temple of Amenophis III in 1926 (cf. also the fragment of a similar object found in the southern temple of Thothmes III mentioned above). According to Chap. CXII of The Book of the Dead, Set once transformed himself into a black pig: "Then Ra said to Horus, 'Look at that black pig': and he looked, and straightway an injury was done to his eye, [namely], a mighty storm [took place] . . . Now the black pig was Suti (Set) who had transformed himself into a black pig, and he it was who had aimed the blow of fire which was in the eye of Horus" (see Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (1910), Chap. CXII of the recension). These words, of course, refer to Set in his Typhonic aspect as the god of storms, etc., an aspect which is closely paralleled by that of Resheph (see further, Chap. XXXIX for a reference to the storm-clouds, etc., of Set). The pig elsewhere in The Book of the Dead, and also in The Book of the Gates of the Other World, appears as the symbol of evil (see Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, ii, pp. 159 and 161; iii, pp. 160-3). Macrobius (*Saturn*, i, 21) says that "Adonis was killed by a boar because this beast represents winter." He refers, of course, to the legend in which Adonis was killed by a boar while out hunting. It is indicated in Isa. lxxv, that the Canaanites eat pigs' flesh. According to I Macc. i, 41-53, Antiochus required the Jews to sacrifice swine and other unclean animals. The pig was chosen as a "victime préférée" in Babylonia and in Archaic Greece (Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 188, note 1; and Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 680). Some pigs' bones were found in the Neolithic (i.e. pre-Semitic) "High Place" at Gezer (Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii, pp. 379 and 380; and comments by Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 202). (See also the pigs' bones from Tell el-Hesi (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 192).)

Among the more important finds in the Amenophis III level must be mentioned: (1) A beautifully made bronze top of a military standard, 4 in. in height, representing the head of Hathor wearing the horns of a cow and the solar disk. Gold foil is beaten over the face, which is nicely modelled. (In the room from which the standard came, which was on the extreme edge of the tell, was a scarab of Rameses II, so it is evident that the debris there had been disturbed anciently.) (2) Three bronze axe-heads, one of which was associated with a magnificent spear-butt of bronze, which is undoubtedly Mediterranean in origin, as examples very much like it have been found in the cemetery at Beisân and in Egypt, connected in both instances with pottery anthropoid sarcophagi of Mediterranean mercenaries. The butt in question has a crescent-shaped end and is decorated in high-relief with a crossed-string design. (3) A bronze ceremonial axe-head with fine lines impressed on both sides of it. Its shape is very like certain smaller votive axes of copper, of Early Minoan III age (2400-2100 B.C.), found at Kumasa, in Crete (cf. Mosso, *Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation*, p. 136, fig. 77). (4) A bronze scimitar; and arrow-heads and spear-heads of the same material. (5) A hoe; a chisel; and leather-cutter, all of bronze, and all extremely well made. (6) *Pottery*.—A great quantity of pottery of all kinds, including many Mediterranean examples. A clay jar-stopper of local manufacture bears two seals in the form of the double plumes of Egypt (*shuty*); while other stoppers show quite clearly the marks of the string which bound them to the jars. (7) An interesting collection of scarabs, including two scarabs of Thothmes III, one gold-mounted.

Of the highest importance are the (8) *Cylinder Seals*.—One of them is of Babylonian and another of Hittite origin. The former is of blue stone, and bears three vertical lines of Babylonian cuneiform which read, according to Père Dhorme: "Ma-a-nu-um, the diviner, and servant of the god Enki (i.e. Ea)." This seal, which contains the first cuneiform inscription found at Beisân, dates somewhere about the 19th or 18th century B.C. Whether or not Manum was ever a diviner in one of the earlier sanctuaries which we must assume existed on the tell it is impossible to say. "Diviners" or "sooth-sayers" are mentioned in Jer. i, 36, and Isa. xlv, 25 (see the New American Translation of the Old Testament, edited by Professor J. M. Powis Smith). The Hittite seal is of haematite and is by far the

best of its kind found in Palestine. On it are represented two deities and also an elephant (this is the first occurrence of the animal on cylinder seals) with a vulture above it. Before the elephant stands one of the deities who holds an axe (?) in his right hand. In front of this head is the Hittite hieroglyph usually read as "god." Behind the elephant is the other deity, who wears a conical cap. Against the back of his head is the hieroglyph meaning "fort." In front of the latter deity is an ass and some emblem or hieroglyph not yet made out.

(9) *Pottery Cult-objects*.—The cult-objects found in 1927 are highly important. Most of them came from rooms adjacent to the eastern wall of the Amenophis III temple, and may originally have stood upon the *mastababs* or low "seats" in the inner sanctuary of that building. Ten serpent cult-objects, each in the form of a *uraeus* on a stand, were discovered altogether. One of the serpents has represented on it the breasts of a woman, with a cup below them for the lacteal fluid (see Plate III, 2). Another cult-object was in the shape of a pointed-base jar, 15½ in. in height, surmounted by the head of the Egyptian dwarf-god Bes or Ptah-Seker. The dwarf reminds one of the figures of the dwarfs with which, according to Herodotus, iii, 37, the Phoenicians ornamented the prows of their boats. On certain seals, etc., found elsewhere, we see the figure of Bes drinking out of a jar by means of a tube. That this was a Syrian custom in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty is clearly shown from the stele of a Syrian mercenary drinking from a tube inserted in a large jar or stand.<sup>1</sup>

Near the Bes-jar was lying a cylindrical stand having represented on it in high-relief the head of Ashtoreth wearing five plumes, reminding us of a plumed Ashtoreth figurine found at Taanach. Compare also the life-sized head of the deity found in the Pre-Amenophis III level. Another cylindrical stand was surmounted by the head of a bull, which animal, in the old Canaanite religion, was usually the emblem of the Baal. Also, the animal itself was used as a sacrifice in the temples, as we see from the remains of the bull found in

<sup>1</sup> See especially A. Grenfell, "The Iconography of Bes and of Phoenician Bes-hand Scarabs," *P.S.B.A.*, 1902, Jan., p. 32. A small bronze model of a human hand, emblematic of Bes, found near the northern temple of Thothmes III, has already been referred to in my article. Part of the base of an alabaster statuette of Bes was also discovered in another part of the Thothmes III level. Moreover, many falence amulets in the shape of the god have been unearthed in most of the Egyptian levels on the tell.

our southern temple of Thothmes III. Still another stand has an elephant's head shown on it, the eyes and trunk of which are most realistically depicted. Elephants are listed among certain gifts from Upper Syria made to Thothmes II, while Amen-em-Heb, an official of Thothmes III, gives an account of an elephant hunt made by his royal master in Niy, a district on the Upper Euphrates. A North Syrian elephant is actually depicted in the tomb of Rekhmara, a vizier of Thothmes III (see Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, i, pl. II B). Elephants were known in the Upper Euphrates in the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria (c. 1115 B.C.), while the figure of an elephant appears on the obelisk—now in the British Museum—of Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian, who defeated Jehu the Israelite in the course of his expedition against Hazael of Damascus, in 842 B.C. (See the excellent illustration in the new *Harmsworth History of the World*, p. 880.) Other cult-objects comprise a dove from a *kernos* or hollow ring of pottery; a duck's head from some sacred object (a lamp ?); a pottery plaque with eight wavy parallel lines on it (cf. the faience plaque similarly decorated, of Middle Minoan II era, 1900–1700 B.C., found at Knossos in Crete (see Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, i, p. 309, fig. 288, gg); and the model of a spherical bread-cake bearing the hieroglyphic word *imenyt*, "daily-offering," the significance of which will be referred to presently.

#### *Seti I Level.*

The rooms in this level, excavated during the 1927 season, had a bottle-shaped Byzantine reservoir and the foundations of a large Byzantine building sunk into them. One particular room held a quantity of intrusive Byzantine kitchen-refuse consisting of ashes, small fragments of bone, etc. The non-intrusive objects from the Seti rooms comprise the head of a limestone figurine of Ashtoreth, part of a cylindrical pottery cult-object surmounted with the head of a deity (?), a well-made steatite scarab, and a pot-handle bearing a Cycladic seal impression. The seal shows the figures of a bearded ithyphallic man or deity who holds a club in his left hand, and has his right arm down by his side. Near the pot-handle were six bricks bearing the impression of a cloven-hoofed animal, evidently a pig.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The rubric of Chap. CXXV of The Book of the Dead states that a certain representation in colour was to be made upon a new tile moulded from earth upon which neither a pig nor other animal had trodden. (Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, Chap. CXXV of the recension.)

These impressions are interesting, in view of the fact that, as already stated above, we found a complete cylindrical cult-object with the head of a pig in the Amenophis III temple, in 1926, and also parts of similar objects in the southern temple of Thothmes III and the Pre-Amenophis III level, in the present season. Two round balls of clay, representing bread-cakes, were discovered near the temple area of the Seti I level. One of the balls had *imenyt* ("daily-offering") impressed upon it in fourteen places, while the other ball bore five similar seal impressions. The seal indicates that the clay cakes were votive offerings for providing a daily supply of bread to the deity. This usage has a suggestive analogy to the practice of preparing the shewbread at the sanctuary of Nob, as recorded in I Sam. xxi, 6, and may well throw considerable light on the periodicity of renewing the bread as referred to there, where the frequency of renewal is left entirely undetermined. (The passage in question gives the oldest historical mention of shewbread. Compare the *later* seventh-day renewal in Lev. xxiv, 7 sq.)

#### *Rameses II Level.*

The rooms in this level excavated during the present season were above the rooms of the Seti I level mentioned above, and like them contained much intrusive Byzantine debris. Among the objects from the Rameses level may be mentioned bricks bearing the impressions of a human foot, of the paw of a dog, and of the hoof of a pig; pottery loom weights; a pottery dove from a cult-object, and a magnificent green stone scarab with the "throne name" of Rameses II. This scarab shows the king, who wears the crown with double plumes, smiting a Canaanite captive, whom he holds by the arm. In front of Rameses is written "Treader-down of barbarians."

#### *Byzantine Level.*

The rooms and the reservoir of the Byzantine level excavated this season produced very few things of interest beyond two well-ornamented lamps; iron bracelets; a glass bottle; and two pieces of flat glass crumpled by fire. Two of the basalt blocks from the walls of the level bore the signs  $\Theta$  (*theta*) and  $\rho$  (*rho*), respectively, in red paint. Other letters of the Greek alphabet have been found on Byzantine walls elsewhere on the tell, and it is my opinion that they are merely quarrymen's marks, each letter representing a particular

gang of labourers. The letters were certainly placed on the blocks before the latter were built into the wall, for the characters as found *in situ* in the walls are often upside down and sideways on.

Altogether the 1927 season proved to be one of the best we have yet experienced at Beisān, and there is no reason for doubting that the following seasons will continue to provide us with a wealth of details throwing new light, not only upon the history of the ancient city, but also upon that of Palestine in general.

JERUSALEM,

January 20th, 1928.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE ON EGYPTIAN PARALLELS TO THE RELIGION OF BEISĀN.

The following references in the Egyptian religious papyri are of particular interest to us in connection with the ordinances, and so on, of the southern temple of Thothmes III:—

(1) *Representation of deity*.—With regard to the Canaanite custom of representing the deity by a *mazzebah*, compare the reference in the famous Hymn to the Nile god in Sallier Papyrus II, stating that anthropomorphic representations of the Nile god cannot be made: "He cannot be sculptured in stone, he is not seen in the images. . . He is not to be found in inscribed shrines . . . and thou canst not make images of him in thy heart . . . The god doth not make manifest his forms, and idle are imaginings concerning them" (Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, p. 46).

(2) *Cake and Meat Offerings*.—"Thou eatest of the cake which appeareth on the altar (cf. the Canaanite 'shewbread') and which the two divine fathers (i.e. Ra and Seker) have sanctified. Thou eatest of the baked bread and of the hot meats of the storehouse; thou smellst the flowers" (Chap. CLXXII, Theban Recension of The Book of the Dead).<sup>1</sup> "I have four loaves of bread during the course of each and every day (cf. the daily votive offerings of bread from the Seti level), besides four loaves in Heliopolis, which is more than [the food] of any god" (Chap. CLXXXIX, *op. cit.*). "And whilst this chapter is being recited, and likewise whilst the offerings are being made at the time when the *Wedjat* ('Eye of the Moon') is full, four altars shall be lighted for Ra-Tem, and four for the *Wedjat*, and four for the gods who have been mentioned. And upon each one of them shall there be bread-cakes made of fine flour, and five white cakes . . . and of incense one measure, . . . and one roasted joint of meat" (Chap. CXL, *op. cit.*).

<sup>1</sup> After Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (1910), whose translations are here given.

(3) *Secrecy of Ritual in Sanctuary*.—"When thou recitest [this chapter] thou shalt not let any man whatsoever see thee except him that is indeed dear to thy heart and the priest who readeth the service; thou shalt not let any other person see [thee] . . . Thou shalt recite [this chapter] inside a tabernacle of cloth<sup>1</sup> decorated with stars throughout" (Chap. CXC, *op. cit.*).

(4) *Set and his Animals*.—"The fiends of Set come and change themselves into beasts" (Chap. XVIII, *op. cit.*). These beasts were the hippopotamus, pig, crocodile, serpent, etc. The hippopotamus found in the Seti level was coloured a bright red, which colour was associated with Set "the ruddy one."<sup>2</sup> "I am Thoth, and I have pacified Horus, and I have quieted the two divine Combatants (i.e. Horus and Set) in their season of storm. I have come and I have washed the Ruddy One, I have quieted the Stormy One" (Chap. CLXXXII, *op. cit.*). In the Papyrus of Nekht is depicted the deceased spearing a pig with a spear (Chap. XXXVI, *op. cit.*). "The pig is an abominable thing unto Horus. . . Then the company of gods, who were among the divine followers of Horus. . . said, 'Let sacrifices be made of his bulls, of his goats, and of his pigs'" (Chap. CXII, *op. cit.*)—these words follow those (already quoted in my article) referring to the black pig of Set.<sup>3</sup> In the famous Legend of Horus of Edfu are to be found many references to the fight between Horus and Set, and the spearing of the hippopotamus associated with the latter god (see Budge, *Legend of the Gods*, pp. xxxviii–xlvi, etc., where also are given vignettes showing the slaughter of the hippopotamus fiend, Set-animal, etc.). Other interesting references to Set in The Book of the Dead are as follows:—"Grant ye that I may have power over the water, even as Set had power over his enemies in the day when there were storms and rain upon the earth" (Chap. LX); and, "I am Thoth, who have balanced the two divine fighters (i.e. Horus and Set), I have destroyed their warfare and I have diminished their wailings" (Chap. CXXIII). No doubt the "wailings" meant the noise of the fierce storm winds.

That the religion of Ancient Egypt and of the Land of Canaan influenced one another, particularly from the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, there is, of course, no doubt whatever, but to what extent the influence reached we have at present no means of ascertaining. Nor do we yet know how far the religious beliefs of Mesopotamia and the Aegean regions played a part in forming or affecting the Canaanite pantheons of Palestine and Syria.

<sup>1</sup> " . . . inside a chamber [lined] with cloth " (Budge).

<sup>2</sup> "Animals with red, or reddish-brown hair or skins, and even red-haired men, were supposed to be especially under the influence of Set" (Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, p. 247 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> In order to drive away Set from attacking the full moon of the month Pachons, an antelope was sacrificed, and a black pig was hacked in pieces upon an altar made of sand, which was built on the bank of the river (Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, p. 248; see also remarks on p. 244, *op. cit.*).

## EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN AND PLATES.

## PLAN OF TEMPLES OF THOTHMES III.

*Southern Temple of Thothmes III.*

1. Inner sanctuary with two altars.
2. Room with altar of sacrifice, etc.
3. Corridor leading east to room with sacred column.
4. Courtyard with tables and pole-socket.
5. Room north of inner sanctuary.
6. Corridor leading to northern temple.
7. Room (partly excavated), west of latter corridor.

*Northern Temple of Thothmes III.*

- N.T. Northern Temple (not yet fully excavated).

- A. Flight of steps leading to lower level.

*Southern Temple of Thothmes III.*

- B. Pole-socket.  
 C. Brick altar for cult-objects.  
 D. Stone libation-basin (for blood) on brick altar.  
 E. Stone altar for meat-offerings.  
 F. Brick table for cutting up meat.  
 G. Brick table for implements (?) for cutting up meat.  
 H. Similar to F.  
 I. Socket of pole for dressing carcases of sacrificed animals.  
 J. Brick altar of sacrifice.  
 K. Blood channel in altar. In its centre is indicated the hole for the tethering-peg of the animal.  
 L. Clay socket for pot (?).  
 M. Brick pedestal.  
 N. Stone base for cult-object (?).  
 O. Stone base for cult-object (?).  
 P. Stone base for cult-object (?).  
 Q. Stone base (?) for the stele of the god Mekal, which was found nearby.  
 R. Stone *mazzebah*, or sacred column emblematic of the temple deity.  
 S. Stone bowl in floor in front of *mazzebah*. Both *mazzebah* and bowl are on a brick floor.

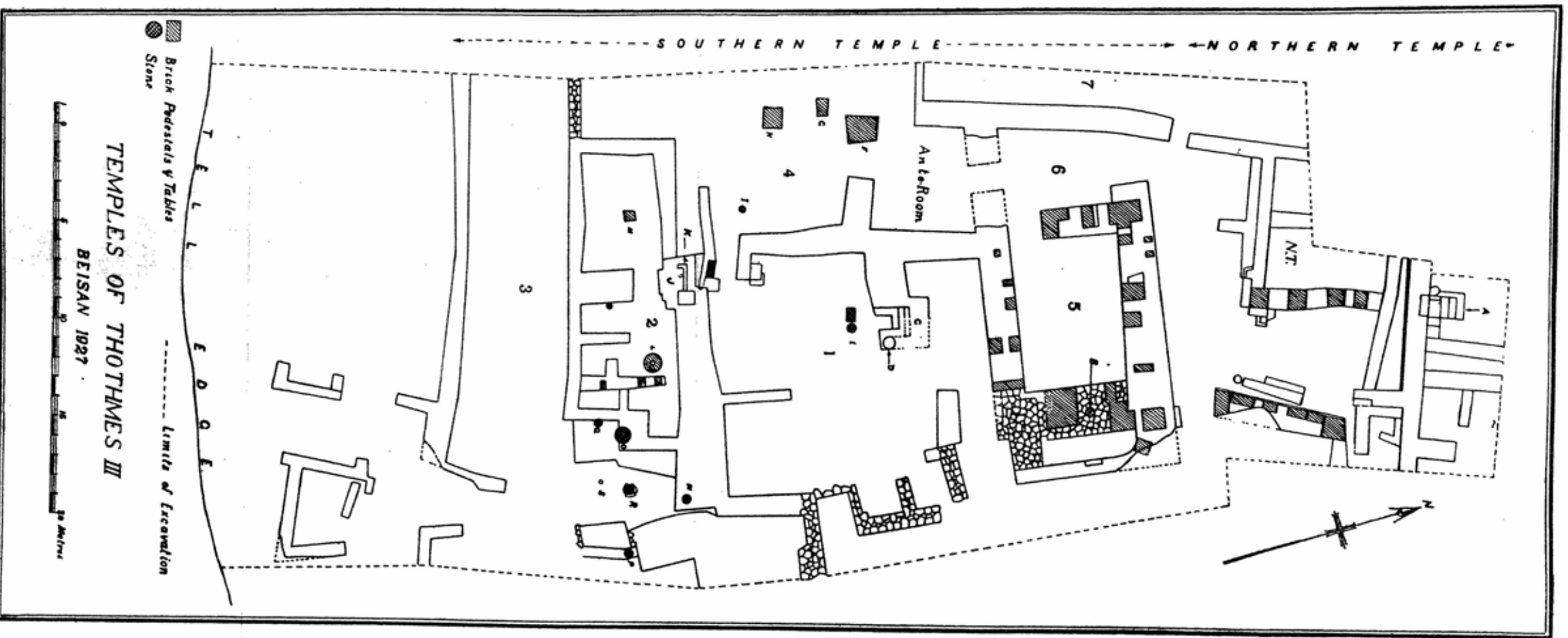
## PLATES.

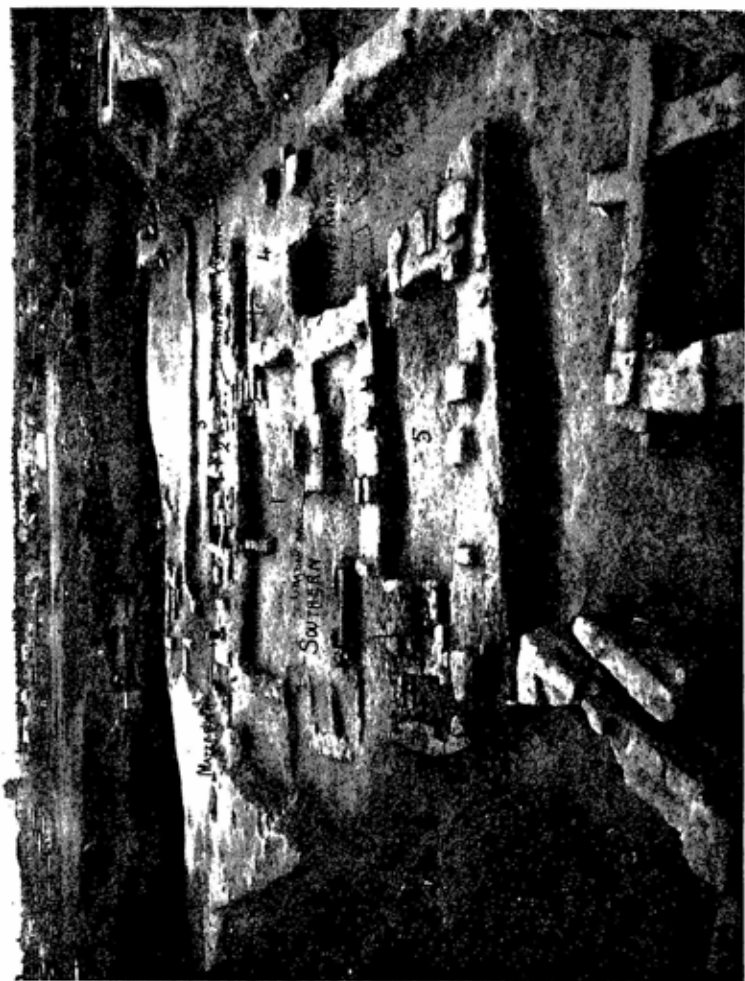
- I.—The view is taken looking south-west. No. 1 is the inner sanctuary with brick altar (A) for cult-objects, and stone altar (B) for meat-offerings. For Nos. 2 and 3, see the Plan. No. 4, courtyard with three brick tables or pedestals for cutting up the animal sacrifices, etc. In the south-east corner is a socket (C) for the pole (which is modern) on which the carcase was dressed. In its east wall is a socket (the pole is modern), the use of which is unknown.
- II.—Hittite weapons. (See p. 77.)
- III.—1. Portable Cretan altar from the east of the brick altar in the inner sanctuary. 2. Pottery figure of serpent in *uraeus*-form with the breast of a woman; below is a cup for the lacteal fluid. (Found in the Amenophis III level.)
- IV.—The *mazzebah*. (See R and S on the Plan, and p. 78 above.)
- V.—Stele of Mekal. (See Q on the Plan, and p. 79 above.)





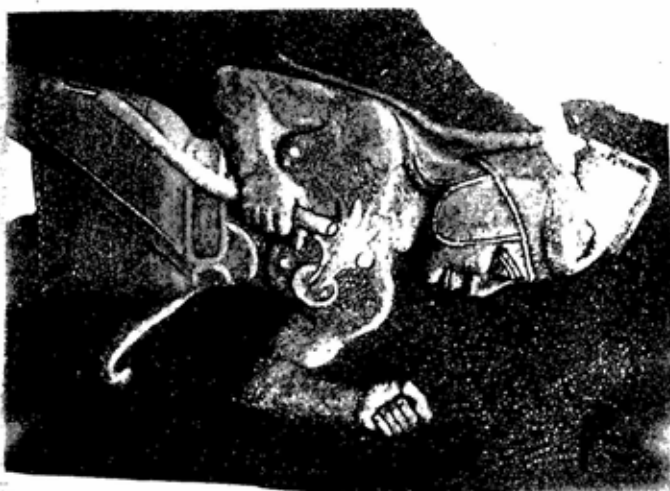
PLAN.





GENERAL VIEW OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN TEMPLES OF THOTHMES III, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

Hittite King with axe and dagger.  
Sculpture at Boghaz-keui, Anatolia.

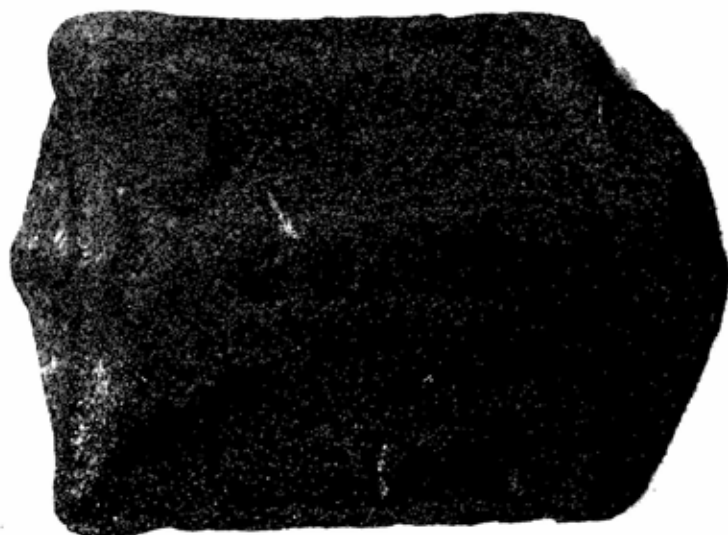


HITTITE WEAPONS.

Dagger, probably Hittite.  
Found in Tell-Hesi, III (1927).  
Bogaz-keui, 1927.



Hittite Axe-head found in Amenophis III  
Temple, Beisan 1926.



1. PANELLED CRETAN ALTAR.



2. POTTERY FIGURE OF SERPENT WITH FEMALE  
BREASTS.



THE MAZZEBAH IN THE SOUTH CORRIDOR OF THE SOUTHERN TEMPLE.



THE STELE OF MERAL.





## A CRUSADERS' FORTRESS IN PALESTINE.

PART II of the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York* (September, 1927) contains an interesting account of a survey, and partial excavation, of the ruins of Kul'at el-Kurein in Galilee, a site long ago identified as that of the crusading Castle of Montfort.<sup>1</sup> The special object of the expedition was to try and obtain specimens of armour and arms of the crusading period. In this hope the explorers were disappointed: "Well-preserved specimens of artistic importance were not forthcoming . . . In arms and armour—our special interest in the present trip—little was found which, from the Museum's standpoint, could be regarded as material for exhibition. In fact, all objects of iron turned out to be very imperfectly preserved, an indication that the conditions in Palestine were far from favourable for the study of objects in iron."

The examination of the site, however, proved far from fruitless. The actual field-work extended only from March 29th to April 29th, 1926. "According to the estimate of Major Key, our reconnaissance disposed of debris equalling 71,000 cubic feet, weighing, if consisting of one-third soil and two-thirds limestone, about 4,500 tons. Fortunately, however, this material had not to be carried far, rarely more than 40 feet, before it could be thrown down the side of the hill. It should be mentioned that every effort was made to preserve the shattered walls."

<sup>1</sup> A brief account of a visit to this site is given in the *Q.S.*, 1919, pp. 71-75. There is a detailed account, with a good illustration and a plan in the *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. iii, pp. 186-190. This ground-plan differs in several respects from that in this *Bulletin* which is based on actual excavation. The shortened account here given is almost entirely in the words of the *Bulletin*. For permission to make these quotations and to publish the plan we have to express our thanks to the Editor in New York.

*The History and Site of the Castle.*

"This site was probably fortified from prehistoric times, doubtless with additions by Jewish kings and Romans. The great stones which form the base of its keep are of early date, the Crusaders making use of them, just as they did of similar material, as Jacques de Vitry records, in the building of the great castle at Athlit. In fact, in or near the keep of Montfort, coins dating from Imperial Roman times were dug up; also, in the residence, an interesting sculpture in marble which the Crusaders may have found locally.

"At the beginning of the 13th century the French built the castle on its present lines. Fifteen miles away they had built Toron, or were building it (1107); and the name, Montfort, sprang probably from the name of a distinguished family, which presently disputed with Hughues de Saint Omer for the possession of Toron, and which appears later in Jacques de Vitry's history of Jerusalem. Be this as it may, the castle was French until 1229; in this year the lords of Mandelée (Jacob de Armigdala) were in possession of the castle, and in this year they deeded it to Herman de Salza, Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital of Our Lady of the Teutons. And in the same year the Germans began to put it in order; they translated its name to 'Starkenbergh' and established it as the headquarters, seat of archives, and treasury of the Order in Palestine. Apparently they were then having trouble to make both ends meet, for the original owner of the castle binds them closely to pay up when the proper time comes—the French had even then little neighbourly affection for their German colleagues, these grim brothers of the Hospital whom we picture in the state hall of the castle at Acre, signing the documents and affixing their great seals of lead and wax, sitting upright in stiffly padded hauberks, with coiffs of mail falling cushion-like around their necks, their hands slipped through slits in their sleeves of mail; around them a score of 'true witnesses' (*testes vero*) included Conrad of Nassau, Odo, Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Balianes of Sidon, Thomas of Acre, Richard Filangerius, Marshal of Sicily. But the Hospitalers were firm in their own faith: they gathered their resources, and they prevailed upon the Duke of Austria to intercede with Gregory IX to invite all Christians to help the German brothers to complete their castle and to maintain it, assuring Christian

subscribers that this work was of 'immense utility': it fed the poor, it tended the sick, it released them from the thrall of the Saracens. The names of its Grand Masters are on record. Kitchener notes the Master earlier than Herman de Salza as Helmerich (1223), and after him Conrad (1240); then Jean de Nifland (1244); his was the great period of the castle. In 1266 came the great siege of Montfort by Melek ed Dhahir Bibars, when the Order repulsed the Sultan. But in 1271 the Saracens came again, and with greater engines of siege. They worked their way up to the castle at the rear (western end), probably tunnelling, certainly protected by huge mantlets. Their operations are recorded by their historian Ibn Ferât, who describes how the outworks were taken and the lower court: 'The Grand Master, Jean de Saxe (1270-1272), is in straits; the enemy undermines a wide section of the south retaining wall of the castle; the defenders capitulate; the Sultan Bibars orders the demolition of the works; much gear of war is taken away; reservoirs are emptied; wooden structures are burned . . . the Teutonic Knights retired to Acre, then to their island outposts. Rhodes held out till 1522.'

"The site of the castle must have caused professional satisfaction to mediaeval engineers. It is an abrupt shoulder of a hill, jutting out between the arms of the stream Wady Kurn, which flows south-west into the Mediterranean. It is the natural place for an acropolis, 600 feet higher than the stream, almost precipitous on its western end, and sloping by easy stages toward the east, thus furnishing desired changes of level in an approach to the castle. In its position Montfort has numerous analogies of similar date in Europe from Scotland to Spain (*cf.* Segovia), notably in eastern France and western Germany. The position of the castle was a convenient one in crusading times. It lay half-way between Acre and Tyre, and only about 6 miles from the sea. From it, or by it, passed a trail of highway to the south-east leading to the Sea of Galilee, thence to the valley of the Jordan and Jerusalem. From the north—Beirut, Sidon—crusading hosts found their way southward through Tyre, and could presently turn into the road through the mountains by Montfort, a road which for centuries has been largely abandoned."

*The Plan of the Castle.*

To understand the arrangements of the buildings it is necessary to refer to the accompanying sketch-plan. It is clear that the great (60 feet) square building, enclosing K and L, is the residence of the castle. The building J becomes the chapel (75 feet by 25 feet). The wall which forms the east boundary of the chapel and of the inner bailey (H) separated the residence of the castle from the soldiers' quarters and the outer bailey. The north wall of the inner bailey has fallen down the hill, perhaps during the siege, but apparently this enclosure was about 40 feet wide. In the soldiers' quarters several chambers, labelled in the plan B, C, D, E, F, and J, were cleared. To the east of these lay the outer bailey of the keep. The foundation of the latter was of great blocks of limestone, "which probably date from Roman times." "The front wall (barbican) of the outer bailey was pierced by a great gateway, furnished with bridges and drawbridges leading over the ditch or fosse, which in Palestine was doubtless dry, and used only as a trap against besiegers."

With regard to the various chambers, some indication of their respective uses were found. A well-preserved staircase from the keep was uncovered in chamber B. It was probably the kitchen of the garrison, as in it was found an array of great earthen vessels, some of them set up in order, all clearly for provisions. In a niche near the entrance stood a huge jar. In one corner of this chamber, which is over 20 feet square, there may have been a booth for drugs, for here were found a mortar and numerous fragments of small bottles and flasks. Chamber F was probably the workshop of the castle in which armour was repaired. Here were found blooms of iron, a crucible, various tools, hammers, chisels, fragments of chain-mail, pieces of bassinet, a bit of a visor of a great helm, scales of body defence and upwards of forty bits of armour. Also heads of arrows, darts, lances, spikes, all lying in a bed of charcoal, indicating that they had remained there since the burning of the castle. The room or vault K, which also has its arched ceiling intact, contained many interesting objects (illustrated in the pamphlet), such as two beautifully carved keystones, "a fragment of a painting on a wooden panel, bits of stuff, glass, pottery, and moulds for leather-work. From one corner in the south a chute projected refuse down the side of the hill."



"Back of the residence we expected to find, thanks to European analogies, the garden of the castle; here was an enclosure sixty-odd feet in diameter, which may have been of such a nature. Its retaining wall was roughly semicircular, and of great strength, 12 feet in diameter; at one side (north) of it is still retained the fine tower, prominent as we approach the castle from the west, the only well-preserved tower of the castle, unaccountably well preserved, when we recall that it was on this side of the fortress that the besiegers gained their entrance. This tower is of especial significance, since, although not high (56 feet on the north side), it exhibits in all probability the essential architectural features of other (if not all other) towers of the castle—small windows, loopholes, and entrance ports on the outer façade, and, toward the inside, deep-set balconies with high ceilings which provided grateful shade—as one sees in numerous crusading castles, *e.g.* Rhodes. The block of masonry, by the way, which surmounts one corner of our tower is possibly the last evidence of the type of machicolations that crowned the towers of Montfort.

"Below the 'garden,' with its tower and retaining wall, the shoulder of the hill descends steeply: here we obtain our best view of the curtain, or ring wall of the castle. A crumbling tower at the south-east is the best reminder of the defences which appeared at intervals along a ring which to-day can be traced only with difficulty. On the north side, a bit of the wall is present in a line with chamber C, and below the keep a corner is preserved with steps.

"Had the castle an outer ring wall? This probably existed, judging by contemporary analogies, though it may have been little more than a mound surmounted by a palisade and enclosed with a ditch. There exist certain indications of this: notably the bridgehead (south) and the important ruin to the north (Kitchener's 'mill') at the dam of the Wady Kurn, by which a lake—probably 1,000 yards long—was created. The 'mill' we have already looked down upon from the wall of the castle; it was, in fact, so large and costly a structure that it would hardly have been left outside of a ring wall in a country subject to constant incursions of a formidable enemy. Its ruins alone measure in masonry at least 150 feet in length; several chambers show groined arches, springing from delicate clustered capitals and provided with

ornamental keystones. In a word, the 'mill' was a necessary unit in the economy of the castle. It may well, from the character of its rooms, have been used as a rest-house for pilgrims, even providing them with a chapel, but surely with outlying farm-buildings for provisions, cattle, and horses, the latter, following numerous analogies, only under exceptional conditions being cared for in the castle. None the less, the 'mill' may have ground the corn of the castle at certain seasons, but at all times it was clearly the guard-house of the dam which insured the integrity of a lake. In fact, it is hard to overestimate the care with which a crusading fortress guarded its water-supply.

"Of the cisterns three were explored in the castle. The largest, as one might expect, was under the keep, a great cemented chamber 40 feet in length, 28 feet wide, and over 20 feet deep, built with walls of masonry with a smooth lime-cement finish. The second cistern was, as one might also predict, under the kitchen (C). This was a bottle-shaped affair, about 16 feet in transverse diameter and 20 feet deep. The third cistern, cylindrical, about 15 feet both in diameter and in height, was under the chapel near the entrance. In this position such a cistern suggests the custom of sanctuary. All the cisterns were, by the way, found to be in good order, but, much to our discomfiture, lacking in objects of interest."

It may be added that the *Bulletin* is very fully illustrated, there being many views of parts of the castle, both before and after excavation, and a number of good illustrations of the objects found.

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## ES-SALT.

By THE REV. J. GARROW DUNCAN, M.A., B.D.

*(Continued from p. 36.)*

IN my description of the ruins of the Tower on the Castle Hill, I assigned the drafted masonry to the Herodian period. The possibility, however, that this section of wall may belong to the period of Ahab or Jeroboam I should not be entirely disregarded. Ahab, in his extension of the palace at Samaria, used drafted masonry of this type with large bosses in the centre. Where the wall was to be visible, the bosses were dressed off; where not visible, they were left.

If we are right, however, in assigning walls to Rehoboam at Safi, Zakariyeh, and Tell el-Hesi, we find Rehoboam, the contemporary of Jeroboam I of North Israel, using the same type of drafted masonry with large bosses and a margin varying from 2 to 4 inches in breadth. Drafted masonry thus dates as early as 950 B.C. That at first only those sides were drafted where it was necessary to draw a line for a straight edge, so that the next course or the next block may fit closely, shows that originally drafting was not decorative. Very soon, however, all four edges were drafted, and drafting became decorative as well as useful.

On the section of wall shown in the January *Q.S.* (Plate VII, 3), the blocks are drafted on all four edges, and the bosses are left in the rough. On the door-jambs (4), however, the bosses are dressed down and picked with a pointed hammer. If early Hebrew pottery should be found within this drafted wall on the Castle Hill, the possibility that this masonry is part of Jeroboam's fortification of Penuel (1 Kings xii, 25) would become a certainty.

What further enhances the possibility is the fact that the east wall, running southwards towards the moat and left suspended by Ibrahim's explosions, is built into a rock-cut trench about 9 inches deep, exactly as we find in the masonry of Omri and Ahab at Samaria.



When Jeroboam made himself king of North Israel he was naturally haunted by the fear that, through the constant necessity of going to worship at Jerusalem, Israel might be tempted to return in her allegiance to David. He therefore took two precautions; he set up golden calves for the worship of the Egyptian goddess Hathor—one at Bethel and one at Dan, thus establishing two religious centres independent of Jerusalem. Lest this should fail, he rebuilt Penuel to provide a safe retreat for himself (1 Kings xii, 25 sq.).

His own capital, which he also fortified, was Shechem. From Shechem to Penuel there is, and always has been, a straight road. The ancient road from es-Salt to Nablus, still named the Nablus road (Shechem road), is used to-day by the fellahin of the district.

The tower destroyed by Gideon (Judges viii) was undoubtedly an Amorite fortification. From Gideon's time, somewhere about 1200 B.C., till the time of Jeroboam I (c. 950 B.C.) Penuel seems to have been unfortified.

It should be mentioned also that down the slopes of the Castle Hill outside the fosse, particularly on the north side, the remains of rooms or dwelling-houses are quite traceable, though considerably over-grown with vegetation. The tower had been the home of the garrison and the people had dwelt on the slopes under its protection.

### *Penuel (Gen. xxxii sq.).*

When we examine the narrative of Jacob's return in Gen. xxxii there seems to be some confusion. This, however, is entirely due to the use of the names Peniel and Penuel, and the expression "pass over." It has been usual to take the expression "pass over" in its every occurrence in these chapters as meaning "cross the brook Jabbok," thus continually bringing the events back to the ford of the Jabbok; but in some instances the expression means simply "pass by," "go in front of." Thus, in xxxii, 21-23, it certainly refers to crossing the brook; in v. 31 it has, I think, quite a different significance; in xxxiii, 3, the expression means simply that he "went in front of them," leading the various groups of his company; in xxxiii, 14, it must have the same meaning. Jacob wishes Esau to "pass over before (in front of) his servant"—he prefers Esau to go in front.

As to the word "Penuel," it is significant that in v. 30 (Hebrew v. 31) Jacob uses the form Peniel. He is described as adapting a prominent name of the neighbourhood to his own case. Penuel being an outstanding stronghold, the name would naturally be applied also to the district around, and Jacob is here really making a sort of pun on it—as if he were to say, "This is Penuel. It has been *Peniel to me*, for I have seen God face to face." At this point there is a break in the narrative, and v. 32 continues, "and as he passed over *Penuel*, the sun rose upon him." Thus in the two successive verses we have the two forms of the word used—Penuel and Peniel.

I suggest that between v. 30 and v. 31 some time has elapsed. Jacob has been moving slowly southwards from the Jabbok ford to meet Esau. Ten miles distance, at least, had to be covered between the Jabbok and Penuel. Verse 31 simply means, "as he passed over the hill on which stands the tower of Penuel, the sun rose upon him"; and here Esau and his 400 men came in sight.

Es-Salt would be straight on his route to meet Esau, and a very likely place for their meeting, since Wady Sir is only a few miles to the south-east. From this point the narrative of the two chapters seems to flow quite smoothly.

The period referred to falls about 2000-1800 B.C., just the time when the Amorites were at their strongest in Palestine.

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## JEWS AND JUDAISM IN PALMYRA.

By C. Moss, B.A.

THESE remarks upon the Jews in Palmyra and the character of their Judaism arise out of an interesting Palmyrene inscription which, by reason of its importance, I print with commentary and philological notes. The inscription in question is one of a group of five, first published by Kokowzow, apparently in 1901, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique*, vol. viii. They were found engraved on the

entrance-wall of a large sepulchral cave situated in the south-west of the ruins of Palmyra, and called by the natives "Magharat el-Jedideh," and were re-edited by Lidzbarski in his *Ephemeris*, II, pp. 269-76.

But of the five texts, both Kokowzow and Lidzbarski gave only three in a complete form; the other two (Lidzbarski's A and E) were distinguished chiefly by their lacunae. This was especially the case with E, only four or five words of which were apparently preserved. However, M. Chabot, in *Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre* (published in 1922), gave a remarkably fine facsimile of the whole series of inscriptions (Plate XXV), a reproduction which proved that not one of the five was in any way broken or defaced. He also added in the body of the book a (French) translation of the entire series, complete without a single lacuna (p. 102 sq.).

The most interesting inscription of the five seemed to me to be Lidzbarski's E (Chabot IV)<sup>1</sup>, which I read as follows:—

- 1 נרקיס בר חרי עגילו רחק
- 2 לשמעון בר אבא בר חנינא מן
- 3 גומחין ארבעא גויין תימניין די בסטרא
- 4 מדנחיא אכסדרא די מעל מערתא דה
- 5 על סמלך ומן גומחין תרן די מן עקר
- 6 תופרא דכן לה ולבנוהי ולבני בנוהי
- 7 ליקרהון די עלמא בירח קנן שנת
- 8 חמשמאה ותרתי

(1) Narkaios, the freedman of 'Ogēlu, has conceded (2) to Simeon bar Abbā bar Ḥanīnā (3) the four innermost southern niches (Chabot: "les quatre caveaux les plus au sud") which are on the (4) eastern side (of) the Exedra (B)<sup>2</sup> which is at the entrance of this cave (5) on thy left, and two niches which (are) from the base of (6) that junction (?); to him and to his sons and grandsons, (7) for their eternal honour. In the month of Qeniān of the year (8) 502 (July, 191 A.D.).

Before going into detail it is necessary to summarize the contents of the inscriptions. Three brothers, Na'am'ain, Mālē, and Sa'di,

<sup>1</sup> Chabot arranges the inscriptions in chronological order.

<sup>2</sup> See below for explanation of B.

sons of Sa'di, built a sepulchral cave, apparently for commercial purposes. As can be seen from the plan (Chabot, p. 99 [and also in Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, p. 270]), this cave is in the form of an inverted T. It contains four Exedras (אכסדרא) or chambers having niches (גומוזין) for burials in the recesses of their walls—these Exedras are marked A, B, C, D on the plan. The Exedras A and B, on the right and left hand, respectively, of the entrance, are referred to in the inscriptions as the Northern and Southern Chambers; Exedra D, at the extreme end of the vertical bar of the T, is called the Western Chamber; the curious expression מן עקר תופרא probably denotes the Exedra C. Chabot remarks: "Disons seulement que le mot que nous traduisons par 'jonction' nous paraît désigner la salle C, qui relie l'exèdre du fond à l'entrée." Thus he seems to regard C as the תופרא or junction. Is it not possible, however, that not C, but the entrance-hall (where Exedras A, B and C all meet), is the תופרא? The expression used is always מן עקר תופרא. Chabot gives as a translation of this "au fond de la jonction"; but does this rendering bring out sufficiently the force of the preposition מן ("from")? If by תופרא is meant not C but the entrance-hall, then the Exedra C could very well be described as being "from the base (or foot) of the junction": indeed, it is difficult to see what other name could be given to it, as Exedra D, a prolongation of C, is referred to as the Western Chamber, this rendering it impossible to indicate C in the same way. It should be added that D, which is separated from C by an arch resting on two pillars, contains paintings of Greek mythological subjects.

The inscriptions (which extend over a period of eighty years) record the letting out of certain portions of this large sepulchral cave to various people. In inscriptions I and II (Lidzbarski's B and A), dated A.D. 160, the concessions are made by the three brothers themselves. Inscription III (Lidzbarski's C), dated A.D. 191, shows that Zabdiból, son of Kiphtot, to whom the brothers had granted parts of the Exedras B and C, sold these same concessions to the Narkaios of our inscription. Inscription IV (Lidzbarski's E), dated in the same year, tells us that Narkaios sold part of his concessions to Simon b. Abba b. Ḥanina. In Inscription V (Lidzbarski's D), dated A.D. 241, we find Bath-maliku, great-granddaughter and heiress of Sa'di, one of the three brothers, leasing out part of the Exedra C.

Now, the name Simon bar Abba bar Ḥanina is obviously Jewish. Bar Abba (בר אבא) is the Barabbas of the New Testament, whose name, as is known from the Diatessaron and the old Syriac, was really Jesus bar Abba (ישוע בר אבא). A Rabbi, Simon b. Abba (3rd century A.D.), a pupil of R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama and of R. Johanan, is mentioned in the Talmud.

There must have been a large number of Jews in Palmyra. De Vogüé (*Syrie Centrale*, "Notes on Inscription 13" = G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 120) says: "On sait par le témoignage des historiens qu'après la prise de Jérusalem, un certain nombre de Juifs s'établirent à Palmyre et y fondèrent une de ces communautés prospères que l'on rencontre dans les principales villes de l'Empire romain." Again, commenting on inscription 65, he writes: "Nous avons déjà rappelé les témoignages qui signalent l'existence à Palmyre d'une communauté juive; elle dura jusqu'au moyen âge; Benjamin de Tudela [voyages, chap. xi] la visita en 1172 . . . Notre tombeau nous montre que ses membres avaient su s'enrichir, et qu'ils étaient sur un pied d'égalité parfaite avec les habitants de la ville." Chabot remarks that it is unreasonable to suppose that such a people as the Jews should have been absent from so important a centre of commerce as Palmyra, and finds traces of Jewish influence in the formula, so frequently occurring on Palmyrene religious inscriptions, לברוך שמה לעלמא, "to him whose Name is blessed for ever" (in which he sees a reminiscence of Ps. lxxii, 19, and Dan. ii, 20), and in another formula, part of an inscription engraved on an altar, די קרו לה בעקא ועננו ברוחא, "parce qu'ils l'ont invoqué dans l'angoisse et il les a exaucés dans la dilatation" (with which he compares Ps. cxviii, 5, מן המצר יה מראתי יה ענני במרחב יה). Yet it seems to me that the religion professed by the Palmyrene Jews was not always of a very orthodox kind. In de Vogüé 13 the name of the lady to whom the statue is dedicated is מרתי ברת ידא בר והבלת בר שמעון. Here the names Marthi and Simon are clearly Jewish—but how could a Jew be called והבלת, Wahb'allāth (وهبالث, "donum Allāt"), a name which could properly be borne only by a worshipper of the goddess Allāt. Moreover, the name of the husband of Marthi (the man by whom the statue was set up) is שריכו בר חירן, names which sound quite un-Jewish. De Vogüé supposes that the father

and daughter were "sinon Juifs, du moins alliés aux familles juives"—perhaps the Palmyrene Jews had intermarried with pagan neighbours. Or are we dealing with proselytes to Judaism, who still retained some of their heathen practices (and names)? Palmyrene proselytes were received. (See *Palest. Talm.*, *Qidd.* IV, 65c; *Bab. Talmud Nidd.* 56b.)

A Palmyrene Tessera (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, III, 34 = *Repert. d'Epig. Sém.*, 1690) has inscribed on it the names מלכו שמעון חמא (Maliku, Simon, Hama). Of these, שמעון and חמא are evidently Jewish; חמא, from the root חמא, "see," and apparently an abbreviation of חמאל (= חזאל, Hazael) is a name frequently borne by Jews in post-Biblical times. Yet the following is the description of the Tessera: "Personnage couché, coiffé du modius; chevelure abondante; à ses pieds un serviteur debout; au dessus, un buste sur le croissant (Aglibôl?); une étoile de chaque côté et au dessus du buste, une autre à droite de la tête du personnage." Lidzbarski says: "On the right of the head of the recumbent figure there is also a half-moon together with a star." So, though the names are almost certainly Jewish, the representation contains not only figures of stars, but also a crescent (and half-moon), in which Lidzbarski sees the Palmyrene lunar deity Aglibôl. Here again the religion of the Palmyrene Jews seems to deviate from orthodox Judaism.

Is it not possible that the inscription with which we are dealing may likewise show the somewhat dubious character of Palmyrene Judaism? Inscription III (Lidzbarski's C) states that Narkaios acquired from Zabdibôl the entire eastern wall of Exedra B, containing eight niches (גומדין); and our inscription (Lidzbarski's E) informs us that he sold four of these eight niches to Simon b. Abba. Thus, along the same wall, four of the cavities would be filled with the bodies of Jews and four with those of non-Jews (and similarly in Exedra C). Now it seems to me that there is something un-Jewish about this—although, of course, the sides of the גומדין constitute what in the Talmud is called a בריצה, or "partition." Contrast de Vogüé, 65, a sepulchral inscription which states that the tomb has been constructed by Zebidâ and Samuel, sons of Levi, the son of Jacob, the son of Samuel, in honour of Levi their father, (and) for themselves, their sons and their grandsons for ever. Here we have a family, every member of which bears an undoubtedly Jewish name, note especially Levi, and that זביר occurs in the Talmud as

the name of a well-known Babylonian Âmôrâ. Nor are any pagan names intermingled with the Jewish ones. The tomb is a family vault—it is to belong to Levi and his descendants for ever—there is here no question of setting aside this part of the sepulchre for Jews and that part for non-Jews.

I append some notes on the Palmyrene text.

L. 1. רחק was previously known from Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 143, l. 12, where it was read either רחמת or דחק. These texts establish the reading רחק, and show that the meaning of the formula ל רחק מן is "to resign a thing in favour of someone, to transfer it to him" (Lidzbarski). Cf. the use of אחר in *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 144, ll. 2 and 6: "Lishmash has given a share of this vault to Bônne."

In ll. 3 and 4, סטרא מדנחיא אנסדרא is probably a mistake for סטרא מדנחיא [די] אנסדרא. Cf. B, מן שטרא מערבא, (l. 1) and C, מן סטרא מדנחיא די אנסדרא (l. 2). Note that סטרא is written שטרא in B, but with ס in the three later inscriptions C, D, E. Also, Lidzbarski observes that אנסדרא is masculine in the older inscriptions (A and B) but feminine in C and D.

L. 4. די מעל, "which (are) at the entrance of this cave." Cf. the fuller phrase in C, די הנן מעליך (l. 2). מעל is used adverbially (as in מעליך), Kokowzow (and Lidzbarski) compare such phrases as the Talmudic and Syriac שבתא מעלי, "at the coming in of the Sabbath," etc.

L. 5. The phrase מן עקר תופרא has been commented on above. Lidzbarski gives as a possible explanation of עקר תופרא, "at the foot of the seam (junction)," תופרא being thus a technical term used in building; but finally assumes that it is a scribal error for הופרא, "at the foot of the excavation."

In l. 6 we have the demonstrative דִּכֵּן, which occurs three times in the Aramaic portion of Dan. ii, 31; vii, 20, 21. It has always been considered a form peculiar to Biblical Aramaic. The grammars and dictionaries give no examples of its use in the related Aramaic dialects. Professor Montgomery, in his *Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (published in 1927), is apparently unaware of our inscription when he maintains that the form is unique in Aramaic (p. 166). He explains the formation as *dék* + *n*, and compares the form זכּם

of the Elephantine Papyri: לֹזְכֵם דִּגְלָא "to that company" (Cowley, *Aram. Papyri*, 9, 2; 20, 4; 65, 3).

Now, Nöldeke in his famous "Essay on the Characteristics of Palmyrene Aramaic" (*Z.D.M.G.*, xxiv [1870]), says, that though Palmyrene is in some respects allied to Syriac, it is still more closely connected with the Palestinian Aramaic dialects—"mit dem Palästinischen hat das Palm., um nur einige Hauptsachen zu nennen, die Imperfektbildung mit, die Demonstrativa דְּרָה, דְּרָנָה, die Pluralbildung auf -*ayyā*, gemein." One of the chief points showing that Palmyrene is related to Palestinian Aramaic rather than to Syriac is therefore the form assumed by the demonstrative in Palmyrene. The occurrence of the supposedly unique דִּכְן in a Palmyrene inscription is accordingly not to be wondered at—it is only a confirmation of Nöldeke's statement.

But the term "Palestinian Aramaic" is a wide one. Besides the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra, it includes the later Jewish Aramaic dialects: the Targums—Onkelos and the Palestinian Targums, I and II, the Aramaic parts of the Palestinian Talmud, of the Palestinian Midrashim, etc., Samaritan-Aramaic, and Christian Palestinian Syriac. Now if we compare the forms of the demonstrative (as recorded by Dalman) in these dialects, we shall see that the Palmyrene forms correspond chiefly (in most cases only) to those found in Biblical Aramaic.

The Palmyrene forms for "this," as given by Nöldeke, are: sing. m. דְּרָנָה; fem. דְּרָה ("and not rarely also דְּרָנָה"); pl. אֱלִין (אֱלִין). These are forms which all occur in Biblical Aramaic. Now, comparing the other dialects, we find that Dalman (p. 44) gives:

*Targum.*

*Galilean.*

Masc. דְּרָנָה, not Bibl.-Aram. דְּרָנָה; Christ. Palest., דְּרָנָה; Sam. דְּרָנָה.

Fem. דְּרָה, not Bibl.-Aram. דְּרָה; Christ. Palest. the same; Sam., דְּרָה.

Pl. — דְּרָנָה, דְּרָנָה; Sam., דְּרָנָה.

On p. 111 he gives: (A) דְּרָנָה, rarely דְּרָנָה; fem., דְּרָה; pl., אֱלִין, all with references to Palestinian Talmud. (B) The same forms with ד prefixed: masc., דְּרָנָה; fem., דְּרָה; pl., דְּרָנָה. Thus at least the singular masc. forms found in the later Jewish Aramaic are quite distinct from the Palmyrene forms.



Dr. S. A. Cook, in a review of Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*, published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvi (1904), pp. 258 *sqq.*, says (p. 274): "Palmyrene is in several respects younger than Nabataean (not to mention Egyptian Aramaic, etc.). In one or two instances it agrees with the Aramaic of Daniel, whilst the Nabataean finds analogies in Ezra. The best example is the suffix of the 3rd pers. pl. masc., which in Ezra, Nabataean, and the older Aramaic is  $\text{םה}$ —(defective), but in Daniel, Palmyrene, Jewish-Aramaic, etc., is  $\text{הון}$ . Further,  $\text{אלה}$ , Ezra v, 15 (the Kethib), agrees with Nabataean, whereas  $\text{אלן}$ , the regular Palmyrene form, corresponds with the  $\text{אלן}$ ,  $\text{אלין}$  of Daniel." Thus, it is not surprising to find  $\text{דכן}$  (the form used in Daniel) in a Palmyrene inscription.

L. 7.  $\text{קנין}$  = the Jewish month (Tammuz). According to Chabot it was pronounced Qenian.

## ANOTHER ROMAN INSCRIPTION FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CAESAREA.

By ZEV VILNAY, Tel Aviv.

IN June, 1927, a Roman inscription in the aqueduct of Caesarea came to my notice, about which I reported in the last issue of the *Q.S.* This inscription reads: IMPERATOR CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS FECIT PER VEXILLATIONEM LEGIONIS X FRETENSIS.<sup>1</sup> On February 1st, I found another inscription about 20 metres further west, which shows a greater degree of art in its formation. It was fixed in the wall of the same aqueduct, between two arches, facing north, and was covered by a layer of clay with stones imbedded therein. Only after some hours' cleaning its full beauty and meaning appeared.

The inscription is carved on a large hewn stone. Its measurements are: 187 cms. by 78 cms. by 35 cms. On the face of the stone a large frame is cut out (78 cms. by 71 cms.), and on either side of this is a triangle. It has the shape of a *tabula ansata*. The borders of this *tabula* are raised 7-9 cms. above the face of the stone. In each triangle a rose is cut out. On either side of the *tabula* figures are sculptured representing Roman images. Each figure stands with its feet on a round ball, resting on a three-stepped base, each step being smaller than the one above. The faces of the figures are broken. But one may recognize the clothing, the breast, and the wings. On one figure the right hand, which appears to have been holding something, can still be seen.

Within the square borders of the *tabula* is carved a round wreath of broken flowers, forming below a symmetrical bow of which

<sup>1</sup> Recently I visited the village Kiriath Abu-Gosh, on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. In the monastery there, a monk showed me a stone with the inscription: VEXILLATIO LEG X FRE. In this village another stone was found, with the same inscription. (*Revue Biblique*, xi [1902], p. 730; xxxiv [1925], p. 580.)



ROMAN INSCRIPTION IN THE AQUEDUCT OF CAESAREA.



one-half has been broken off. Within the wreath, which has a diameter of 50 cms., is inscribed the Latin inscription of four lines :

IMP(erator) CAE(sar)  
TR(aianvs) HAD(rianvs) AVG(vstvs)  
VEXIL(latio) LEG(ionis)  
VI FERR(atae)

Hence this new inscription is of the same age as the first—i.e. of the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). The Legion Ferrata which is mentioned here is well known in Palestine ; it participated in the suppression of the revolt of Bar-Kokhba.<sup>1</sup> Apparently this legion, or a section of it, was encamped in the region of Megiddo at the place where nowadays is to be found the village Lejjon, which is a corruption of the word "Legion." Near this village the remains of a Roman camp have been found. Also in a close field a tile has been found bearing the stamp LEGVIF, the initials of LEGIO VI FERRATA.<sup>2</sup> There has also been discovered, in 1909, during the excavations at Samaria (Sebastia), a stone bearing the words VEXILLATIO LEG VI FERR.<sup>3</sup> From the new inscription found in the aqueduct of Caesarea, we learn that not only the detachment of the Xth Legion Fretensis was engaged in its construction, but a detachment of the VIth Legion Ferrata as well.

*February 27th, 1928.*

<sup>1</sup> E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (1901), I, p. 688.

<sup>2</sup> G. Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim* (1908), I, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> G. Reisner, C. Fisher and D. Lyon, *Harvard Excavation of Samaria* (1924), I, p. 251 ; II, pl. lix.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Serpent-cult in Palestine.*—In connection with the above interesting subject, upon which a great deal of new light is being thrown by the excavations at Beisān, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the so-called "two small rude bird figures," one on each side of the goose or swan smelling a lotus (now broken off), represented on the vessel found above the "High Place," at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 98 and 99, and pl. 47), are nothing but figures of serpents in *uraeus*-form. I have just examined this vessel, which is now in the Palestine Museum, and noticed at once the similarity of the serpent figurines to those of Beisān. A good many heads of geese or swans have been found in all the Egyptian levels in the Beisān tell, and all show signs of having been attached to some kind of object—perhaps a bowl like the Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi example.

It may well be that the Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi bowl contains a Canaanite representation of the Egyptian sun-god Amen-Ra, who is frequently depicted as a goose, and who, according to Chaps. CLXXIV and CLXXVIII of The Book of the Dead, smells a lotus when he appears on the horizon each day. The serpents near the goose are perhaps the goddesses Nekhebit and Wadjet, who, in a hymn to Amen-Ra, are said to be about his face (Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii, p. 8). These goddesses frequently appear in serpent-form.

ALAN ROWE.

JERUSALEM,

February 24th, 1928.

# THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND:

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

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THE  
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NOTES AND NEWS.

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The office of the P.E.F. will be closed during the month of August, re-opening on Monday, September 3. Letters posted to the office will be collected weekly, but matters of special urgency may be addressed to Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, St. Giles's Hospital, Camberwell, S.E. 5.

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The Sixty-third Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held on Friday, June 29, at Burlington House, London, W., Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Viscount Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., presiding. There was an extremely full meeting which listened with close attention to Viscount Allenby, and to the reports given by Mr. FitzGerald and Mr. Woolley. Viscount Allenby referred to the grants which the Fund had received in the past from Sir Charles Marston, *The Daily Telegraph*, and the British Academy. Sir Charles Marston has now promised a further generous contribution towards the continuation of the excavation in Jerusalem; but work is now so much more costly than before the war that the cost of excavation and of publication of results will exceed the sums promised, and further contributions are earnestly hoped for. Viscount Allenby also referred to the loss the Fund had sustained in the death of Dr. Hogarth. Sir Charles Marston, referring to his interest in the work of excavation in Palestine, pointed out how, in the study of the Bible, theories were often mistaken for

facts, and that the way to ascertain the truth in these matters was to dig in the soil of the land and see what the spade would disclose as to the real facts of the case. Mr. G. M. Fitzgerald showed a number of slides to illustrate the most recent excavation on Ophel; and Mr. Leonard Woolley followed with an illustrated account of his work at Ur, remarking that Mesopotamia was one of the Bible lands, and that a full description of the excavations of the last six years at Ur of the Chaldees would indicate how very closely his work touched upon Bible records. A full account of this notable Meeting is given in this issue.

---

As was announced at the Annual Meeting, it is now proposed to continue the excavations on Ophel in the coming autumn. The generosity of Sir Charles Marston has made this possible, but it is much to be hoped that his handsome contribution will encourage others to make special donations so that the new work may not be limited or curtailed by want of funds. The expense of publishing the coming *Annual* on the previous season's work will leave the Committee with very little—apart from Sir Charles Marston's donation—for the new excavation. Application to the Palestine Government for official permission to excavate has already been made by Mr. Crowfoot, and the work will, we trust, have commenced before the next number of the *Q.S.* is issued. We hope that readers will appreciate the importance of excavation for the accumulation of facts regarding the Bible.

---

At Tell Beit Mirsim, which is now the conjectured site of Kirjath Sepher, the excavators on behalf of the Xenia Theological Seminary of New York, in co-operation with Dr. Albright and Professor Kyle, have made a most interesting discovery. It consists of a limestone stela, 12 in. by 24 in., depicting in low-relief a figure, the head of which has been broken off, with a huge serpent coiled around the limbs (*The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* of May 29). The excavators believe that it illustrates the religious beliefs of the Middle Bronze Age; it is even suggested that it relates to the story of Eden, and the serpent Nehushtan. The discovery was made at the last moment in a large building which it is supposed was probably a temple.

Dr. Elihu Grant, the leader of the Haverford College Expedition which is excavating Beth-shemesh, has reported that the pottery indicates a long Canaanite occupation and a short Philistine one. "Violent and destructive changes are indicated at about 1100 B.C., the work probably of conquering Hebrew tribes. . . . Astartes are picked up at three levels—later and earlier Hebrew and Canaanite. The Hebrews were probably the political masters, but the race continued Canaanite. . . . Alien influences at work include the Egyptian, noted especially in remains from before and during the Hyksos period, as well as importations from Cyprus" (*Manchester Guardian*, May 23). We hope to print a communication from Dr. Grant in the next issue.

The British School of Archaeology in Egypt are holding their Annual Exhibition of Antiquities discovered by students of the School at Tell Fara, which is identified with Beth-Pelet in South Judah. The exhibition is at University College, Gower Street. Sir Flinders Petrie is present Wednesdays and Saturdays, and the Hon. Secretary, Lady Petrie, attends 11 to 1 daily. During the recent season the main work was on the cemetery, leaving most of the town site for the next season. A summary, with several illustrations, appeared in *The Illustrated London News* of June 30. Among the treasures is a unique wine-ladle, to which was fixed at right angles a beautifully worked handle representing a swimming girl.

Mr. Alan Rowe has sent the following corrections to his article, on the "Excavations at Beisān," *Q.S.*, April, pp. 73-90:—

Page. Line.

- |    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| 78 | 13 | For "carved" read "curved."            |
| 81 | 3  | Add a reference to the footnote.       |
| 84 | 15 | For "lines" read "linen."              |
| 85 | 5  | For "this head" read "his head."       |
| 86 | 4  | from end. For "figures" read "figure." |

It may be added that a correspondent points out that on p. 74 (City-Level V) the temple of "Ashtaroth" should be "the Ashtaroth," as in the R.V. of I Sam., xxxi, 10. On the other hand, Driver in his *Commentary*, the Dominican Dhorme, and others agree that the singular should here be read, following the LXX (i.e. "Ashtoreth," or "Astarte").

*Flowers of the Holy Land.*—No. 3 of this series of booklets contains ten subjects reproduced in colour, with botanical notes and a special description of the *Thorns of the Holy Land*. Price 2s., from Miss K. M. Reynolds, 8, Darnley Road, Notting Hill, W.11.

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By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt dealing with that Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

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**Subscribers in the United States** are asked to kindly note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. W. M. Randall, of 55, Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

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*Antiques for Sale.*—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

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The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923-25, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2s. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Professor Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1-212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4s. bound in cloth, and 2s. 6d. in paper covers.

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The new plan of Jerusalem, on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5s. ; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9s. The latter form is the more convenient, as, owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

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The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

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The list of books received will be found below.

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

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The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions towards the Ophel excavations from :—

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn., U.S.A.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

*The Near East and India*, May 3rd: Aqaba, where four States meet, by "Viator"; May 24th: The Dead Sea, by G. E. Arrowsmith.

*The Expository Times*, April: New light on Palestine, by Rev. J. W. Jack.

*Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1925-6: A crowned head and a statue of a child from Mesopotamia, by A. W. Lawrence.

*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, July-December, 1927.

*Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. x: Hygieia on Acropolis and Palestine, by B. Ashmole; The relation of the Praetorian camp to Aurelian's Wall of Rome, by I. A. Richmond; The Mausoleum of Augustus, by R. A. Cordingley and I. A. Richmond.

*British School at Rome*: The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin, by Tancred Borenius. (Medici Society.)

*British School of Archaeology in Egypt*: Gerar, by Sir Flinders Petrie, F.B.A., etc.

*Annals of Art and Archaeology*.

*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

*The Scottish Geographical Journal*.

*The Historical Truth of the Bible*, I: by G. B. Michell.

*The New Judaea*, April 27th: A history of the national movement in the East, by H. Begman; May 24th: The Hebrew University.

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

*American Journal of Philosophy*.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*.

*American Geographical Review*.



- Museum Journal (University of Pennsylvania)*, March: The royal tombs of Ur of the Chaldees, by C. L. Woolley.
- The Homiletic Review*.
- Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, February: Among the Canaanite mounds of Eastern Galilee, by W. F. Albright; A trial excavation in the mount of Bethel, by W. F. Albright.
- Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, March: Samarra, by M. S. Dimand.
- Revue Biblique*, April: The Amorites, by R. P. Dhorme; Notes on the isthmus of Suez, by C. Bourdon; Phoenician inscription from Ur, by R. P. Savignac; Tombs recently discovered at Jerusalem, by R. P. A. Barrois; The School's excavations at Nerab, by the same
- L'Inscription du Jardin de Salomon, transcrite et expliquée*, by Ch. Bruston.
- Syria, Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, ix, 1: The excavation of Byblus (May-July, 1927), by M. Dunand; The ruins of el-Mishrifeh (the ancient Katna), by Count Mesnil du Buisson, etc.
- Biblica*, ix, 2: The Church of St. Peter in Jerusalem: its relation to the house of Caiaphas and Sancta Sion, by Father E. Power; The last king of Babylon, by B. Alfrink; The American excavations at Beisān (illustrated), by A. Mallon.
- Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. li: 1. Fifty years of the *Z.D.P.V.*, by the Editor; The geology of the plain of Kishon, by Leo Picard; Economic and meteorological reports. 2. The 'Azāzimeh Bedouins and their district, by Canaan; The Massebahs of El-Berith at Shechem, by E. Sellin; Archaeological survey, by Galling; Surveys of literature on geology and pre-history of Palestine, by M. Blanckenhorn.
- Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1928, i: The original form of the name "Yahweh," by G. R. Driver; Chronicle, by the Editor, etc.
- Archiv für Orientforschung*, July-August, 1927: Contains, *inter alia*, an excellent survey of excavations and expeditions in the Near East.
- Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, April: Four north Syrian-Hittite monuments, by St. Przeworski; May: Philby's travels in Arabia, by E. Bräunlich; June: Israel's Psyche, by J. Hempel.
- Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, articles: Sword (illustrated), Shechem, Sidon (illustrated), Seal, etc., by Peter Thomsen (offprints).
- Vorgeschichtliches Jahrbuch*, iii: Pal.-Syr., by P. Thomsen (offprint).

*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vii, 4 : The child in Palestinian Arab superstition, by T. Canaan ; The site of Mt. Sinai, by Ditlef Nielsen ; viii, 1 : Jérusalem et les documents égyptiens, by A. Mallon ; The Rhodian potter Agathobulus, by G. M. FitzGerald ; The name of Capernaum, Notes on the environs of Bir-Zeit, by F. M. Abel.

*Bible Lands.*

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

*La Revue de l'Académie Arabe*, March-April.

*Al-Mashrik*, May : On the ruins of Babylon, by Marmadji.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

#### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.  
SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixty-Third Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, London, W., on Friday, June 29, 1928, Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. VISCOUNT ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., presiding.

The HON. SECRETARY (Dr. E. W. G. Masterman) stated that letters regretting inability to be present had been received from Brig.-Gen. E. M. Paul, Rev. Dr. Ewing, and Mr. O. G. S. Crawford. He then read the Minutes of the Meeting held on June 30, 1927, which were confirmed, and signed by the Chairman. He stated that 15 Subscribers had qualified for full Membership since the last Meeting, and he also reported, with much regret, that since the last Meeting the Fund had lost by death the valuable services of Dr. D. G. Hogarth. It was unanimously agreed that Mr. H. C. Luke and Lt.-Col. Peake be added to the General Committee.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1927, already in the hands of Members and taken as read, said: Ladies and Gentlemen, During the past few years excavation has been in progress on Ophel, the site of pre-Israelite Jerusalem, and in that connection we owe a great debt of gratitude to Sir Charles Marston for the generous assistance he has given the Fund time and again. Work in 1923-5 was conducted by Professor Macalister and Mr. Garrow Duncan, and the £5,000 which was in hand for the work when starting, was made up by £1,000 from the Reserve Funds of the Palestine Exploration Fund, £1,000 from the Schweich Funds of the British Academy, £1,000 from *The Daily Telegraph*, and £2,000 from Sir Charles Marston. (Applause.) That excavation revealed a large part of the North wall of the ancient city and part of the East wall, including a great tower, probably Davidic or Solomonic, which is preserved as a national monument. Last year Mr. Crowfoot, Director of the Jerusalem School of Archaeology, assisted by Mr. FitzGerald, undertook a very interesting

excavation in the Tyropoeon valley, and uncovered a very ancient gateway. To that work Sir Charles Marston generously contributed, on the basis that he would give a sum equal to that which the Fund would contribute. It is planned that the work shall be renewed in the autumn; Mr. Crowfoot will direct the work, and Sir Charles Marston will give £2,000. (Applause.) I want to remind you that the Palestine Exploration Fund cannot itself give largely from what is received in the way of ordinary annual subscriptions, but hopes that it may receive liberal donations towards these excavations. I am sure you will see that its hopes are not disappointed. It is unlikely that after this next excavation we shall, at any rate for some years, work again in Jerusalem itself. What you hear this afternoon of the work done there will, I am sure, move your hearts and loosen the strings of your purses, so that you may give largely and liberally. It must be borne in mind that excavation is much more costly than before the war, and we want, of course, to do as much as we can. Even the £2,000 so generously given by Sir Charles Marston will not go far, especially if it is to include the publication of results. And here I may add that the results of last year's work will appear in an "Annual" or monograph, now nearly ready for the press. It may interest you if I say a word as to the two societies: the old Palestine Exploration Fund founded in 1865 and the younger one, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, which have somewhat different objects. The Palestine Exploration Fund has more and more come to mean excavation. The School of Archaeology is primarily educational, training in all branches of archaeology. That is one reason why the Director welcomes the opportunity of taking charge of the Palestine Exploration Fund excavations. The Fund is making a grant of £200 to the School on this account, and saving the salary and travelling expenses of a special director. The Honorary Secretary has already referred to the lamented death of Dr. Hogarth. Most of you knew him, and all had heard of him. To know him was to admire and love him. His was one of the most charming personalities I have ever known. In him I lost a very great friend, and a valued worker in the days when we were campaigning in Palestine. He came from the Arab Bureau in Cairo, and worked with me; and during the whole of the campaign his work was invaluable. He, as you know, was Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1919, 1921, and 1922, and at the time of his death he was President

of the Royal Geographical Society who feel his loss to be a very great disaster. I will not say more on this subject, but you will, I am sure, agree with me that the loss we have sustained by the death of Dr. Hogarth is one that it is very difficult to compensate for—not only in literature and in science, but as a great English gentleman. Sir Charles Marston will now say a few words on the general subject of the aim of the excavations in Palestine. He, as you know, is the mainspring of the movement. Without him, I am afraid very little could be done. I will let Sir Charles speak for himself.

Sir CHARLES MARSTON, in seconding the adoption of the Report, said: "I want first to say that I feel it is a very great privilege for me to be able to devote what means and ability I have during the remaining years of my life to the great work of excavation in Palestine. I next want to say how much I appreciate, as I am sure you all do, the presence of Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby. (Applause.) It is a wonderful encouragement to us in our work to find that the man who above all others is responsible for the sacred soil of Palestine coming under the control of the British race should preside over our Meeting to-day. I believe that I am quoting the words of Queen Victoria when I say, 'It is the Bible that has made this people great.' Our race now controls the land where the events there recorded took place. German theories have too often been mistaken for assured facts in modern education when applied to the Bible. I believe that such conjectures will prove to be incorrect; that the way to ascertain the truth in these matters—and, after all, it is the truth that we all want—is to dig in the soil of that land which has in such a curious way come into the possession of our race, so that we may be enabled to ascertain what the spade will disclose as to the real facts of the case. You are shortly going to hear two very interesting addresses, and I will not, therefore, take up your time. I would, however, like once more to emphasize how much I personally, and I am sure you all, appreciate the presence of so great a man as we have sitting in the Chair; how appropriate it is that he who has conquered the soil for us should be taking an interest in the society which proposes to dig in that soil and ascertain the truth. And I repeat once more that it is a privilege for me, with my small means and in my small way, to find the sums of money which I am for work which is so important to the human race."

On the motion of Mr. G. M. FITZGERALD, seconded by Dr. WHEELER, the Executive Committee as at present constituted was unanimously re-elected.

Mr. G. M. FITZGERALD then showed some lantern views of the excavations, May to September, 1927, at Ophel, or, more precisely, in the Tyropoeon Valley, Jerusalem. These excavations, carried on by the British School of Archaeology, under Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, on behalf of the Fund, have, he said, been of great value in throwing light on the history and topography of an important area of ancient Jerusalem. In showing a general plan of Mount Ophel, the site of the City of David, he remarked that the area is now almost entirely free from houses, because mediaeval and modern Jerusalem lie to the north. The City of David stood on a spur or ridge between two valleys; the Kedron on the east and the Tyropoeon Valley—the scene of our labours—on the west. Former excavations (shown on the slide) demonstrated the existence of fortification walls on the east side of Ophel, and also at the south and south-west, near where the Kedron and Tyropoeon Valleys join at the Pool of Siloam. Above the Pool of Siloam a fifth-century Byzantine Church and a Roman street running up the bed of the Tyropoeon had been traced by Bliss and Dickie, but further north—and this is important—the accumulation of debris was so great that it was only by digging shafts, from the modern surface down to the rock, that Sir Charles Warren, Bliss, and Dickie had shown the existence of a deep valley. The present ground level of the Tyropoeon Valley is very little lower than that of Ophel. Both are covered with fields cultivated as market-gardens and watered by the sewage of Jerusalem.

Until last year no area of the Tyropoeon had been excavated down to rock. The object of the digging was to explore the rock-bottom of the valley and the western slope of the Ophel ridge. The area selected for the purpose was just west of the area excavated in 1923 to 1925 by Professor Macalister and Mr. Garrow Duncan, being separated from it by the modern path, which was now dug through at two points. The surface of this field was known to lie across the bed of the Tyropoeon, and it might be pointed out that a line drawn from the south-western corner of the temple area to the Pool of Siloam crossed the field of excavation. In the course of excavation, said Mr. FitzGerald, we were fortunate

enough to find the remains of a Byzantine street running just on the line indicated, and, underneath, the gateway of an ancient fortification wall of Ophel.

The next slide showed the plan and section of excavations<sup>1</sup> with the exception of two building-levels which were found just below the surface. The remains of these were scanty, and lay mainly across the northern end of the Byzantine street. Though, doubtless later than the Arab conquest, these levels cannot be dated exactly. Below these two upper levels came buildings of the sixth century of the Christian era. The principal feature is the paved street, with houses opening off it on either side. Under some of the rooms were cisterns for storing water, and a drain ran under the street, with other drains leading into it. The rooms of the houses on the street were mostly paved with mosaic, some plain, some with a pattern. One of the houses is now called "the House of Anastasius," because there was found in it the lid of a pot with that name scratched upon it. The largest room in this house seems to have been spanned by an arch. The walls of this room were standing to a height of about 8 feet, and are notable for the fact that, at the south-west, their foundations go down to rock-level, about 20 feet below the floor of the room. To the west were buildings of approximately the same period as the street, but resting on a layer of big stones at a lower level. These consisted of a big room to the north, originally spanned by two arches, but afterwards divided into two rooms by a later wall, and two rooms to the south, in one of which an arch was still standing, and, indeed, remained standing throughout the earthquake of last July.

All the sixth-century buildings are on the axis of the street, which ran obliquely to the line of the valley-bed, from the west of the Temple area towards the Pool of Siloam. Below the street all the buildings found ran on a different axis, more nearly approximating to the line of the valley-bed. Of the buildings below the street-level, some were obviously foundation-walls of Roman or Byzantine houses which had stood on about the same level as the street, and of these foundations some go right down to rock. The Byzantine builders of both periods frequently carried their foundations down to the rock. The buildings in question are probably of

<sup>1</sup> *Q.S.*, January, 1928, p. 12.

the early Byzantine period, and may, perhaps, be dated to about the time of Constantine. The foundations were sunk down in debris which, from the coins and other objects found in it, seems to have accumulated about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70. To this period also belongs the layer of big stones at the lowest part of the valley, in which an early Byzantine cistern was sunk, the cistern afterwards being filled in and built over by the sixth-century walls.

On the east, one of the early Byzantine foundation-walls blocked the entrance to the great gateway, which has been mentioned by Lord Allenby, and which is perhaps the most interesting and important of our discoveries. It is flanked by walls, or towers, of great thickness; there is a distance of about 28 feet from the face of the wall to the angle at the east, which was found by digging down under the modern path. There is no doubt that this gateway lay on the western boundary of the City of David. While some of the masonry may be of Persian or Hellenistic-Maccabaeen period, its great thickness makes it probable that the core of the wall is of Hebrew or Jebusite times. This wall was followed southward to a return eastward, running under the path into the next field. It will be of the greatest interest if the wall can be followed up southward and northward, and it is much to be hoped that this work may be undertaken shortly. At rock-surface opposite the gateway there are no early remains till we come to the lowest point of the valley-bed, where were found walls and a flight of steps, leading down to two doorways, which seem to be part of a house, very probably of the Maccabaeen period, but certainly older than the siege of A.D. 70.

Turning to the section, Mr. FitzGerald pointed out seven phases:—

(1) The original rock-surface, rising from the valley-bed eastward at a slope of about one in four. (2) At an early period a great fortification wall and gateway built on the slope, the ground rising behind it. (3) When there were still only a few feet of earth covering the rock-surface, a house built at the bottom of the valley. (4) The siege of Titus, A.D. 70, resulting in an accumulation of ruins; stones at the bottom of the valley, and a slope of debris, perhaps covering the remains of the great wall. (5) A revival, probably under Constantine, and buildings on two levels. (6) The



building of the sixth-century street on a new axis, with rooms on a lower level, which underwent a certain amount of alteration. (7) The destruction of the street in the seventh century, probably by the Persians; the filling in of the area west of the street with debris and the successive construction of two series of buildings.

"It may be asked," said Mr. FitzGerald, "how are we able to trace the vicissitudes of the site with so much assurance? The answer is, that the coins—of which we found a large number, and of which just over 300 (in addition to a large hoard of the Maccabaeon period) were identified by Mr. Lambert, of the Department of Antiquities, to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude—give us the clue. The distribution of coins is so consistent and agrees so well with the evidence of the pottery, that there can be no hesitation in relying on them for the dating of the various levels."

Mr. FitzGerald then described in detail slides<sup>1</sup> giving views of the street-level, the great wall, early Byzantine foundations, the Byzantine arch, the cistern below it, the house at the bottom of the valley, and the filling of the area above, concluding by showing slides depicting bronze implements, an iron hoe and two adze-axes found at street-level, two door-knockers from the Byzantine street, a Roman bronze lamp, some pieces of ivory (mainly Roman and associated with third-century coins), and pottery, lamps, and vases of various periods.

Mr. C. LEONARD WOOLLEY then gave an address on "Recent Excavations at Ur": My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, My excuse for speaking to you this afternoon is that Mesopotamia also is one of the Bible lands. We have been excavating for six years at Ur of the Chaldees, and if I were to describe the whole of our work you would realize how closely we touch there upon Bible records. Actually the majority of the buildings that we have laid bare were extant in the time of Abraham, and later buildings are intimately connected with such characters as Nebuchadnezzar and others, and even come into close touch with the actual stories of the Old Testament. But I have been asked to speak of the results obtained last season, when, as a matter of fact, we had to excavate in periods very far removed from what we would call the historical part of the Bible.

<sup>1</sup> These slides reproduced the illustrations to the reports by Mr. Crowfoot in the *Q.S.*, July and October, 1927, and January, 1928.

My first slide gives a general view of the main excavated area, showing, in one corner of the sacred enclosure, the great Ziqurat, and at its foot the remains of temples, some of them remarkably well preserved, one standing 14 or 15 feet high. Practically everything you see there was either standing in Abraham's time, or is a reconstruction of a building which was familiar to him. That is only one corner of the sacred area. Originally, our programme was to work back over the whole of the religious centre of the city to a period of something like 2300 B.C., and to be content with that respectable antiquity, but circumstances have led us on, and for the last two years we have spent a good part of each season going to a deeper level and dealing with objects the general age of which, in round figures, is 3500 B.C. Naturally that does not come very closely into touch with the immediate aims of the Fund, but it is probably of interest to Members as illustrating, for the first time, the civilization which led up to the period of Abraham and to the beginnings of the Abrahamic civilization and belief.

I show a section of one small part of the cemetery which we excavated last winter, because I have just referred to dates. The tombs we discovered lie at all depths in the soil. Owing to denudation of this part of the site by wind and rain, all the buildings that once occupied it have been swept away, and the actual ground-level over the cemetery represents, at its latest, where the foundations do remain, 2400 B.C., at its earliest 3000 B.C. We cut down below that to a depth of 40 feet and more, and found graves at every level. The uppermost graves belong to the latest period of the cemetery and go back to about 2700 B.C. Almost immediately below them, and thickly scattered in the soil, there are graves which belong to the period of the Ist Dynasty and can be dated from 3200 B.C. Each grave is later than the one immediately below it, and at the bottom of all come here the royal graves. It is well to remember that the tomb-chambers are undoubtedly royal, and were dignified by wholesale human sacrifice such as is unparalleled in any other private person's grave and unrecorded in Sumerian history. It is impossible to believe that the great burial places of kings, sanctified by so much human bloodshed and marked on the surface by tomb-chapels, of which we have found the remains, were violated by the intrusion of private people's bones until a very long time had passed and their memory had

faded. So that if our private graves, those dug down into the shafts, give us a date of 3300 or 3400 B.C., we must give still greater antiquity to the royal tombs that lie below them.

I can only describe to you the character and contents of one or two of the royal graves; private burials must, with one exception, be left for the moment. In the grave of ordinary type, a rectangular shaft is sunk in the soil, and at the bottom is placed the dead body, either wrapped in a piece of matting or enclosed in a coffin, which may be of basket-work or wood. This, the grave of the Prince Mes-Kalam-Dug, is such a grave, but distinguished from others of its type by the wealth of its contents; looking at the bottom of the shaft you see what you would expect to find at the bottom of any ordinary grave in that cemetery, except that everything is on a richer scale. At the far side of the body is a flattened and smooth surface marked by upright grooves, which represent all that is left of the wooden coffin. Inside the coffin the body can be faintly distinguished lying on its right side with its legs crouched. You will note the line of a silver belt which has slipped from the waist. Outside the coffin there were an enormous number of offerings dedicated to the dead man, wares of all sorts, vessels of gold, silver and copper. Inside were various objects: against the man's back there was a tangled heap of beads in gold, lapis lazuli and cornelian, ear-rings and bracelets in gold and silver; a long golden pin, with lapis lazuli head, and a beautiful copper pin, broken, with a head in the form of a golden monkey, which is really one of the masterpieces of ancient Sumerian craftsmanship. From the belt which had been round the waist hung a very fine dagger with a blade of gold, the handle originally of silver studded in gold. There were also two golden bowls, each inscribed in cuneiform characters, as was also a golden shell-shaped lamp, with the name of Prince Mes-Kalam-Dug, which, being translated, means "the good lord of the land." There was a golden double-bladed battle-axe, and a second golden axe lay behind the shoulder; while upon the head was a remarkable gold helmet in the form of a wig which was the main prize of our season. The helmet was, of course, life-size, and was originally fitted inside with a cloth pad, which was brought up over the edges of the metal and laced through the holes. The workmanship is extraordinarily fine, and the condition of the helmet astonishingly good. It is now amongst the objects on exhibition at the

British Museum, the finest single piece that we found in the course of our work.

One of the royal graves proved to be that of a king, whose name is not certain. This grave was sunk about 25 to 30 feet in the ground, and a sloping approach led from the ground surface to the tomb. There was a chamber with stone walls and a brick roof, and the whole of the open area of the tomb was crowded with the bodies of human victims sacrificed at the time of the funeral. The tomb chamber itself had been plundered, but there were remains in it of at least three bodies, none of which were, presumably, the king's; the latter's body had lain in a depression of the ground which was found absolutely empty. The outside part of the tomb had not been touched by the plunderers, and everything was found in position.

There were six soldiers in copper helmets lying at the entrance to the tomb and still carrying their spears. Behind them, at the foot of the incline to the chamber, was a wagon drawn by three oxen. These had evidently been backed down the slope and the oxen killed in position, with the grooms at their heads. Against the wall of the chamber lay nine bodies of ladies of the court, wearing elaborate head-dresses of beads and gold. Other soldiers, armed with copper daggers at their belts, lay along the side wall, and more women, of a poorer sort, were lying at the entrance to the tomb. Other bodies were crowded about in the open area. A copper-headed statue of a bull, the body being of wood, stood over the bodies, and there was another statue, or possibly a large harp, on which the head was in the form of a bull, and was of gold and lapis lazuli.

Before turning to the objects inside the tomb, let me describe its construction. The walls were built of stone, and you can see the original doorway of the tomb chamber blocked by rough brick-work and masonry. The doorway was arched in brick, constructed upon the true *voussoir* principle. It is extraordinary to find the arch, the vault, and the apsidal form of construction in use by Sumerian builders in the middle of the 4th millennium B.C.

Inside the tomb chamber the only objects of real importance were a royal gaming-board and a very beautiful silver model of a boat, exactly the same as the type still in use in the marshes of southern Mesopotamia—a long, shallow craft with five seats, with leaf-bladed oars, and, amidships, an arch to support a mat-awning. Looking

at the skull of one of the soldiers on guard at the entrance to the tomb of the king, you can see the point of the jaw, while above is another soldier's head showing the lower jaw and the great curve of the copper helmet. You can also see the skeleton of one of the oxen that drew the king's wagons, and in the nostrils the silver ring by which the driver guided the beast. You also see the mascot fixed to the pole of the ox-wagon, an extremely fine piece of work. All that is left of the wagons is the mere imprint or black stain in the soil, the somewhat whiter line representing the leather with which the wooden wheels were bound. A curious piece of copper repoussé work was found lying in the king's grave close to a set of golden-headed spears, which at first sight would confidently be assigned to Assyrian workmanship of the eighth century B.C., or later, but here we find it in the 4th millennium, and can only conclude that not only Babylonian but Assyrian art also derived their characteristics from the Sumerian race.

I referred to the golden-headed statue of a bull, and you see in the slide the object as it came out of the ground. As is the case in Palestine, conditions in Mesopotamia are not favourable to the preservation of delicate objects. We do not find, as in Egypt, hermetically-sealed chambers, and we have to take objects from the actual earth, generally crushed by the earth's weight and corrupted by the acids in the soil. It is possible to distinguish here the modelling of the muzzle of the animal and the beard, a curious religious adjunct worked, in this case, in lapis lazuli and silver, while down the front came a series of shell plaques beautifully engraved, though the real character of these was not discovered until the whole head was restored. The head, as shown, is not a reconstruction, but a faithful restoration of what was originally there. The gold has been pressed out with the fingers to its original shape; the lapis lazuli was preserved without any part being moved, except one little piece which was broken and had to be replaced. The eyes are the same, and the hair on top of the head is exactly as it was turned out by the original makers.

Down the front of the animal you will see the shell plaques, of great interest, not only because of the technical skill shown, but because of the subjects depicted. The top scene is familiar, but the other three scenes are unique and show a conscious humour which has hitherto been alien to anything known in Mesopotamian art.

In one appears the sistrum, and it is most astonishing to find a characteristically Egyptian musical instrument in use in Mesopotamia before Egyptian civilization began. What it all means, we do not yet know. It certainly has parallels which we do not yet understand—one with the slate palettes of prehistoric Egypt, where, again, we see comic animals playing with musical instruments, while the donkey playing the harp is reproduced in Chartres Cathedral, where the connection is far to seek!

As you will see, Queen Shubad's grave was of a different character and somewhat more irregular in outline. The tomb chamber was at one end; in the approach were men on guard, here the queen's chariot drawn by two asses with the grooms at their heads, while bodies of women were laid out in two rows at the far end of the chamber, one woman at the end playing upon a harp. A great chest of wood was utterly decayed, but was surrounded by an extraordinary variety of vessels of all sorts—silver, copper, stone, and gold. In a recess was a paving of stone slabs, which was possibly the altar where the victims were actually killed before being laid out in position. The tomb chamber was, fortunately, intact and contained the body of the queen.

The objects found are far better seen as exhibited in the British Museum, especially the queen's head-dress. In the slide you see it as found—a mass of broad gold ribbon, wreaths of flowers, leaves and beads, and on top a great golden comb decorated with rosettes. The coils of the ribbon had kept their place remarkably well in spite of the pressure of the soil, and the whole mass was lifted up without being disturbed, and fixed in position for removal, so that we were able to measure the dimensions of the wig which the queen wore and have practically recaptured the appearance of the queen in her burial pomp. The upper part of the body was entirely concealed by beads of various kinds which had formed a short cloak which hung from the shoulders to the waist, being held together over the right arm by long gold pins with lapis lazuli heads to which lapis cylinder seals were tied.

The next slide depicts another object as found in the queen's chamber, a sledge chariot beautifully decorated with the heads of lions in gold, the manes being worked in lapis lazuli and white shell. That chariot has also been reconstructed for exhibition. You see also the copper collar of one of the asses that pulled the queen's chariot, and

at the end the attachment to which the harness was made fast. You will see the mascot in the form of a donkey, the most astonishing single piece of sculpture yet found in southern Mesopotamia. The queen's harp has also been reconstructed, and is the oldest and one of the most remarkable musical instruments we possess.

The next is a view taken at one end of the great wooden box in the queen's grave, the objects still lying in position round it: a silver lion's head; a large bowl of soap-stone and alabaster vases, together with a number of copper vessels, very badly decayed; silver vessels, including a set of long cylinder tumblers and a long-spouted jug with a flat tray, and four gold vases. That illustrates the extraordinary richness of the grave. The long-spouted jug is precisely the same as one sees represented on early carvings depicting priests pouring libations; possibly the whole was a kind of communion set; eighteen seem to make up a complete set, the queen having two sets of eighteen tumblers each. There were other silver vessels and a very finely shaped jug in good condition, and a silver lamp derived from a cut shell. Here are two of the gold vessels, one a feeding-bowl curiously modern in type, and what may be either a lamp or a lamp filler: unfortunately these were not inscribed, but the shape, which is characteristic of the early Sumerian goldsmith, is strikingly beautiful in the simplicity and purity of its line. Even more striking is a vase of gold, which most people if they saw it would put down to late Greek or Roman workmanship; actually it belongs to about 3400 B.C.; you see with it a gold lamp which comes from the tomb of the Prince Mes-Kalam-Dug, being inscribed with his name. In the queen's grave we found also a pair of cockle-shells in gold. It was quite an ordinary thing for a Sumerian woman to have cosmetics in her tomb, and they were usually contained in natural cockle-shells. The last two gold vessels from the queen's grave are, I think, the most beautiful we have yet found, and in this case again the delicacy of the design and the absolute sureness and truth of the engraving call for admiration.

You now see a view of the cemetery showing one corner of our excavation, the wall left being about 40 feet high. That upstanding block of earth was left because of the piety of our workmen, on the top of it being the grave of Prince Mas-Kalam-Dug. Below this is the biggest of the royal tombs that we discovered, though, unfortunately, it had been completely plundered. It was interesting

for another reason. It was probably the oldest, and differed slightly in type from the others because, instead of having a chamber in one corner, only the whole area of the tomb-shaft was occupied with a single stone building consisting of three chambers roofed with stone instead of brick, and with corbel vaulting instead of the true arch. This grave had been very much plundered, only a few objects of real value being found. On the floor the robbers overlooked one curious object—an imitation in gold of an ostrich shell decorated with incrustation work, somewhat barbaric but interesting, and quite in keeping with early Sumerian custom. Close to it lay another imitation ostrich shell in silver, very much decayed. We have found genuine ostrich shells similarly incrustated in other important tombs of the period.

It was in one corner of the third chamber of this tomb that we made one of the most important discoveries of the season. This peculiar-looking object is put upon the screen to show you again the condition in which objects are recovered from the soil of Mesopotamia. When we got it out looking like the mass you see on the screen, I ventured to report that it was one of the best finds of the season, but it needed the eye of faith to say what the thing was, and it needed a certain amount of courage on my part to tell my directors it was important. Actually it was possible to distinguish that there was a lapis lazuli background and against it figures engraved on shell. We found two such pieces, one upon the top of the other, facing different ways. It was clear that they were the two sides of a curious object which I have since defined as a standard carried on a man's shoulder at the end of a pole, one side representing peace, the other war. In the object as restored you see the picture depicting peace above, with the king seated and attendants waiting upon him; the rest of the royal family are seated on stools, and behind them the harpist playing upon a harp and a lady singing, while in the lower lines we see servants bringing up materials for the banquet. In the other scene you see the king in the top row, distinguished by his greater height; behind him a small child, presumably his son; unfortunately, the heads of the animals drawing the chariot have decayed. You see heavy troops and skirmishing troops, and prisoners being brought into the presence of the king, and below the chariotry of the Sumerian army. The whole is an extremely vivid piece of work, a fine piece of technique, and, as a historical document, it is of first-class importance.



In conclusion, I would remind you that all the objects I have described are on exhibition at the British Museum. Though remote in time from most of the objects with which the Fund has to deal, they do, nevertheless, lead in a curious way to the beginnings of the history which is the Society's special subject and to the characters with which it is most deeply concerned.

Dr. H. R. HALL (the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund) proposed a most hearty and cordial vote of thanks to Viscount Allenby for presiding. Sir Charles Marston had already voiced the singular appropriateness of the presence of Lord Allenby, and he would do no more than say how glad he was that it had been possible to show the latest results of the work at Jerusalem. As Chairman of the Executive Committee, he took the opportunity of underlining what Lord Allenby had said, namely, that, generous as Sir Charles Marston had been, there was need for further support, so that Members should not only give a little more themselves, but do their best to encourage others to contribute to the Fund.

The vote of thanks having been carried by acclamation, the CHAIRMAN, in thanking Dr. Hall for his kind remarks, said his own thanks were really due to the Chairman of the Executive and to Sir Charles Marston for inviting him to come and learn so much from that Meeting.

Mr. ROBERT MOND then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Woolley and Mr. FitzGerald for their most interesting addresses. The Fund was indeed fortunate in having at its disposal those who were willing to sacrifice so much to work in the discomfort entailed by such excavations as those carried out at Ur and elsewhere. Workers were partially rewarded by the satisfaction that they were adding to knowledge, but it was necessary for Members to ensure the fullness of that reward by giving every possible assistance, both financially and otherwise. There was evidently much more to be found. More than one king, one queen, and one prince had been buried at Ur.

The vote of thanks having been carried, and also a vote of thanks to the Council of the Royal Society for the use of the meeting-room, the proceedings terminated.

## TWO MONASTERIES IN THE WILDERNESS OF JUDAEA.

By D. J. CHITTY.

### I.—*Introductory.*

THE subject of this and a subsequent report is the pair of monastic ruins marked on the Survey Map as Deir Mukelik and Khan el-Ahmar. The two ruins are situated about four miles apart in the northern region of the Wilderness of Judaea. The Neby Mûsa pilgrim road diverges to the right of the main road from Jerusalem to Jericho between the 13th and 14th kilometre stone. Khan el-Ahmar lies about a mile beyond this point, on the Neby Mûsa road, six miles east of Jerusalem as the crow flies. It is situated in a plain facing south. Some four miles further east Deir Mukelik is to be found on the northern side of the valley which drains all this part of the Wilderness—the deep and narrow ravine of the Wady Mukelik. Archaeologists are satisfied of the identity of these two ruins with the Convents of St. Euthymius and St. Theoctistus.<sup>1</sup> The evidence which compels us to accept this conclusion, in spite of a Greek tradition identifying the Convent of St. Euthymius with the Mosque of Neby Mûsa, is that of Cyril of Scythopolis,<sup>2</sup> who was himself a monk in the coenobium of St. Euthymius (Khan el-Ahmar), A.D. 544–54, and wrote the “Life” of the saint a year after moving to the “New Laura,” near Tekoa. The writer’s precision in details of topography and chronology makes him an invaluable guide to the archaeologist in this region.

### II.—*History of the Sites.*

The cave which forms the centre of the convent in the Wady Mukelik became the abode of two monks of the Laura of Fara, St. Euthymius and St. Theoctistus, in the spring of the year 411. It was

<sup>1</sup> See R. P. Féderlin, *La Terre Sainte*, March 15th, 1894, pp. 81 *sqq.*; R. P. S. Vailhé in *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien*, iii (1898), pp. 58–76; R. P. Génier, *Vie de St. Euthyme le Grand* (Paris, 1909).

<sup>2</sup> See especially *Life of St. Euthymius*, ed. Cotelarius, in *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, iv, ed. Αἰγυπτίου Μοναχῶν, Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre Press), 1913. (The latter gives a better text.)

not long before other solitaries joined these two. The cave became the Church of the Community, but owing to the difficulty involved in reaching it by night from other caves the saints unwillingly decided that their home could not be a "laura after the type of Fara," and, therefore, they built a coenobium at the approach to the cave, which itself contained the cell of St. Euthymius and the church. It was in this cave that (about 421) the sheikh Peter Aspebet, who afterwards went to the Council of Ephesus as Bishop of the Arab Camps, was baptized with many of his tribe, including his brother-in-law Maris, who succeeded Theoctistus as Superior of the convent (466-68). Euthymius had a small font (*κολυμβήθρα*) made for the baptism in a corner of the cave, and this was still preserved in the days of Cyril. Maris, or Marinus, immediately after his baptism, became a monk, and gave all his wealth for the building and extension of the monastery.

After this Euthymius, who certainly seems to have been better suited for the eremitic severity of the laura than for communal life, fled from the popularity of the coenobium, of which Theoctistus was henceforth the Superior, and, after a period of wanderings in which several other convents seem to have been founded, settled down with his disciple Domitian in a small cave on the Sahel—the plain on which Khan el-Ahmar is built. Peter Aspebet and his tribe discovered him, and built him in this place a great "two-mouthed cistern" (*λάκκος δίστομος*), of which Cyril says that it was still preserved in his day in the garden; a bakery near by, three cells, and an "oratory or church" (*εὐκτήριον ἦτοι ἐκκλησίαν*). The hermit was after a time compelled by a vision to allow others to join him, and a laura to be formed; at first he had twelve companions, later the number grew to something like fifty. The church was consecrated by the Archbishop Juvenal on May 7th, 428.

The great period of the laura follows. Immediately after the Council of Chalcedon it was one of very few strongholds of orthodoxy in Palestine. Archaeologically, however, the history has nothing further to delay us until the death of the saint, January 20th, 473. He left instructions that the laura should be transformed into a coenobium, and arranged that he should be succeeded by Elias, the procurator (*οἰκονόμος*) of the coenobium of St. Theoctistus. A fitting tomb was built for the saint in the place of his old cell by the deacon Fidus, afterwards Bishop of Dor, and his remains were

translated thither by Archbishop Anastasius (May 7th, 473). A detailed account of the tomb and its position is to be found in the "Life," and has already enabled us to identify the chamber in which it is to be sought. The change from a *laura* to a *coenobium* was delayed for some years, probably owing to the internal troubles of the Church over the Monophysite controversy, but early in the patriarchate of Martyrius (478-86), who himself had come to the convent in 456 as a refugee from Nitria on the usurpation of Timothy the Cat, Fidus the deacon returned to the work with the Patriarch's support. In three years (479-482 ?) the transformation was completed, and the new church was consecrated on May 7th, 482. Cyril here gives us a description of the topography of the convent in some detail, which will be quoted in full when I publish a full account of Khan el-Ahmar. We learn from Cyril's "Life of St. Cyriac"<sup>1</sup> that Fidus sent a monk, Thomas, to obtain ἀπλώματα (veils or altar-cloths) from the Patriarch of Alexandria.

The next piece of history is also gathered from the "Life of St. Cyriac." Hitherto our two convents had been supplementary to each other. Euthymius would send youths (e.g. the great St. Saba) to serve their novitiate in the *coenobium* under Theoctistus, until they were old and experienced enough for the life of the *laura*. True, after Theoctistus' death Euthymius had preferred to send them to the *coenobium* of St. Gerasimus in the Jordan plain; but the old connexion remained. We are told in the "Life of St. Cyriac" that the two convents had a common life and a single administration (κοινὸν τὸν βίον καὶ μίαν διοίκησιν), and were under a single procurator. And we know that Elias, Euthymius' successor, was procurator of the Lower Monastery (the *coenobium*). But as soon as the *laura* was itself converted into a *coenobium* the old relation naturally became a little difficult. And when the Sheikh (Phylarch) Terebon, Peter Aspebet's son, died (485), leaving much wealth to the pair of monasteries, Paul, who had succeeded Longinus as Superior of the "Lower Monastery," acted with a high hand, walking off with Terebon's body and his wealth. There followed a separation of the two monasteries and a division of the land. Paul built a tower to keep the boundary, and insisted on keeping for his own convent the hostel which the two foundations had hitherto shared in Jerusalem, paying as compensation to the other convent

<sup>1</sup> Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana, September, viii.

200 νομίσματα for the purchase of another hostel near the Tower of David from the monks of Souka. This division was the cause of St. Cyriac's leaving the coenobium of St. Euthymius, whither he had returned in 475 after the death of Gerasimus, and going off to Souka (485).

There is no need to delay over the history of the convents from this time till the Persian invasion in 614. Very few of the convents of the Wilderness returned to life after that disaster, but the Convent of St. Euthymius was among the few. In 659-60, as we learn from a Syriac document, it was overthrown by a violent earthquake which threw down also the greater part of Jericho. The Superior of the coenobium, Anastasius, is mentioned in the correspondence of St. John of Damascus (730-40). In 796 it is mentioned in the account of a Bedouin attack on Mar Saba. In 809 it contained thirty monks, and we learn from Theophanes that it was plundered in this year, along with the Holy City and the other monasteries of Chariton, Saba, and Theodosius. It is mentioned in the Life of St. Stephen the Sabaite (late 8th century), and in 817-19 its monks, along with those of the Convents of Sts. Saba, Theodosius, and Chariton, received letters from Theodore the Studite.

Meanwhile the "Lower Monastery" (Deir Mukelik) had not outlived the Persian invasion. We have, however, some very interesting information about it in the "Life of St. Stephen the Sabaite." From this we learn that the cave was in his time inhabited by an Egyptian hermit, Christopher. St. Stephen used to go and celebrate the Eucharist for him as far as possible every Saturday. In the account of one of these occasions we learn how the cave was approached. When the saint had, according to his custom, knocked from below with a small stone, Christopher let down his long ladder by the ropes. When the saint had entered they drew up the ladder again. On this occasion the hermit tried to force the saint to prolong his stay. He took the ropes by night and hid them, and when Stephen refused to stay he went and locked the door with the bolt (*μάνδαλις*), "knocking it in very hard till the pins were jammed in the holes," σφοδρῶς σαλευσας αὐτὸν ἄχρις ἂν αἱ βάλανοι ταῖς γλῦφίσιν ἐνηρμόσθησαν. Thereupon he told the saint he would not be able to go now till someone should come from Mar Saba, or the Convent of St. Euthymius or elsewhere, and "take the key and open it" (τὴν ἀλὶδα λαβόντες ἀνοίξωσιν). The saint, however, called his disciple Eustratius, and, after making him genuflect, said "Blessed be the Lord, for that unto the glory of His name thou shalt open the bolt." The disciple rose, and touching the bolt with the tips of his fingers instantly opened it. The writer proceeds to explain that if the saint had done this himself and not by way of his disciple, the door, wall and all, would have fallen straight down into the wady in fear. The saint next turned to his disciple to go into the "funnel which leads to the upper chamber of the cave" (*εἰς τὸν ῥάκα εἰς τὰ ἀνώγεια τοῦ σπηλαίου*), where he should find the ropes hidden in such and such a place.

In the "Life of St. Lazarus of the Galesian Mountain" (A.S., Nov., iii, p. 514), the coenobium of St. Euthymius is found in use in the years immediately preceding the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Hakem

(A.D. 1009). At this time unsatisfactory monks from Mar Saba appear to have been relegated to it. The saint had gone out from Mar Saba into the desert for Lent without leave of the Hegoumen. "But when he came back the Hegoumen received him no more, but cast him out of the laura and drove him away as idiorhythmic and yielding not to the wishes of the Superior, but rather to his own. So going out from the Monastery of St. Saba, he went away to that of St. Euthymius, and after spending a certain time there he retreated and returned again to that of St. Saba, through a cause, as he himself used to say, of the following nature: 'I went out,' he said, 'with other brothers to a certain place to gather pulse. There came out, then, with us also Arabs with women and children, and seeing them almost naked and playing in a disorderly manner and saying some shameful things to the monks, I was not a little hurt in my thoughts, and retired thence and went off to the archdeacon and besought him to take me back again to the laura of St. Saba.'"

In 1107 the Russian Hegoumen, Daniel, coming on pilgrimage, left the following account:—"To the east of the laura of St. Saba, only behind the mountain, is the Monastery of St. Euthymius, three versts away, and there lies St. Euthymius, and many other holy fathers lie there, and their bodies are as those of living people. There is a little monastery on a level place, and about it are rocky mountains some distance off. The monastery was embellished with a surrounding wall and the church was elevated. And there is quite close to it the Monastery of St. Theoctistus, under the mountain only half a day's walk from the Monastery of Euthymius, and all this has been destroyed now by pagans." It appears that the last phrase either refers only to the Convent of St. Theoctistus, or means that the church and surrounding wall of St. Euthymius (both spoken of in the imperfect) had also been destroyed. The preservation of the bodies of the saints surely implies that in some form or other the monastery continued on the spot.

A MS. of Chrysostom in the patriarchate at Jerusalem has a note in it that it was given to the Monastery of St. Euthymius by "the great Commenus," and when the monastery was dissolved it was brought to the Holy Sepulchre.

Phocas<sup>1</sup> in 1177 speaks of the monastery as being walled round with towers and great battlements (*περιτετειχισμένη ὑπὸ τε πύργων καὶ μεγάλων ἐπάλξεων*). He also describes the tomb.

The Cypriote priest Neophytus, at the end of the 12th century, wrote an account of a Stylite, Gabriel, who was grievously deceived by devils at Mar Saba in September, 1185. This, again, shows that the Monastery of St. Euthymius was still in existence at that date. Its Hegoumen's name was Theosterictus, and it was still used for unsatisfactory monks from Mar Saba. (*See Anal. Boll.*, xxvi, pp. 171-2.) "So by judgment of the Hegoumen Lord Saba and the monks under him, he (Gabriel) was sent to the coenobium of the great Euthymius, in which the most estimable old man, Lord Theosterictus, was Hegoumen, by whom also he was instructed to carry wood in the bakery and in the kitchen. And, he says, you could see this man every day bringing a load of wood on his shoulders hardly less than a camel's load . . . he was in subjection, slaving

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxxxiii, 949, § 18.

away zealously in the said monastery until the son of perdition, Salachantes (Salaheddin), entered like a wild boar and despoiled the vineyard of the Lord." Salaheddin's conquest in 1187 made Gabriel return again to Mar Saba in fear of the Saracen onslaughts, but even there he was not safe. He and some of the other monks were captured and carried off to Damascus.

This is the last definite mention of our two monasteries that I have yet found. If there were no further evidence one might conclude that the Monastery of St. Euthymius was destroyed finally by Salaheddin; but this is not stated, and I shall not be surprised to find evidence which would explain the Greek tradition that Nebi Mûsa is on the site of St. Euthymius by showing that the latter was destroyed by the Sultan Beibars (1260-77) to clear the road for the Nebi Mûsa pilgrimage which he instituted. If this is so, it is possible that some of the later work at Deir Mukelik may tell of a restoration of that monastery by refugees from St. Euthymius.

### III.—*Description of the Cave of Deir Mukelik.*<sup>1</sup>

The great cave of St. Theoctistus is to-day probably more difficult of access than it was when the two saints first found their way into it. It is clear that a great deal of rock has either fallen away or been cut out to give support to buildings which have themselves since vanished. The plan, and the photographs Figs. 1 and 2, will sufficiently explain the position of its main entrance—in the face of a sheer wall of rock which offers no foothold for climbing, between two projecting screens of cliff. It is down the western screen, from a ledge over 30 feet above the cave, that we succeeded in climbing at the end of a rope to the entrance of the cave—save on our last visit, when we brought a ladder 20 feet long, and placed it precariously on a narrow sloping ledge of rock (the only possible foothold for it) to reach to within 3 feet of the small entrance to the cave in the outer face of the eastern screen. The ground had to be built up slightly to give any level footing for the ladder at all, and it was only when

<sup>1</sup> The following account is the result of five entries into the cave between March and July, 1927. I owe grateful acknowledgment to my companions on these visits:—Miss M. Bullock (who was of great assistance in making drawings); Miss A. M. Carey; Frs. Georges and Van der Meer, of the Dominican École Biblique; the Rev. C. T. Bridgeman; Mr. H. C. Alexander (who was the first to enter the cave); Messrs. N. Ginsburg and George Wahbey; and especially Mr. Michael Marcoff, who accompanied me on nearly every visit to the valley: also the Rev. Harold Buxton, Mr. C. N. Johns, and others, who accompanied me on various occasions without entering the cave, and otherwise greatly assisted me. Owing to the inaccessibility of the gorge, only our last visit allowed of any considerable time in the cave; and, even so, the work of excavation left too little time for accurate planning.

we had attached the top by a rope to the mouth of the cave that we could feel the position was at all secure. Even then it was essential, for safety, to attach the same rope round one's body, as the entrance was some 18 inches or 2 feet to the left of the top of the ladder and 3 feet above it, so that it was necessary to hoist one's self up into the cave by one's hands, the rock offering no foothold below the entrance.

The main entrance is some 27 feet above the first precarious path below it (Fig. 2). On the latter level are various artificial hollows and cuttings in the rock, some of them on the eastern screen, and quite unattainable without a ladder, providing evidence that the buildings of the coenobium reached at least to this level. Below this are many remains of walls, square cuttings in the rock, and several cisterns, round the head of one of which are the remains of a mosaic floor, partly buried under fallen rock. Finally, an irregular line of wall, visible in Fig. 1, apparently not of the same type of construction in all parts of its course, rims the last ledge of cliff above the valley-bed for some 50 yards.

I have not had time to plan these ruins nor to examine them as closely as I should like. They are easily attainable, and I concentrated my attention on the cave itself. The turret (Fig. 1) slightly east of the eastern screen contains slightly pointed arches, and appears to be in the main at least of more modern construction, though I do not pretend to explain its purpose.

Some 200 yards further up the valley, round a corner, on the same side, is what appears to be a granary rather than a cistern. Climbing up the slopes slightly above it I found a small rudimentary cave-chapel with three niches almost natural in its northern (not its eastern) side, and opposite them, on a kind of natural dome which formed the roof of the cave, a cross in red with IC XC above the arms, and an **A** hanging from each arm—the **W** had become completely degraded into an **A**.

On the south side of the valley, within sight of the convent, but further up the valley, is another cave unattainable without a ladder, with a rough wall of stones at the entrance, which might prove to be the cave on the south side of the valley in which St. Saba spent five years (468-73) except for Saturdays and Sundays.

Returning to the convent, we must describe the main entrance to the cave and the rock above it. The main entrance is double,



being divided into two by a wall of rock some 3 feet thick. To the east of this wall is the great entrance to the church, about 10 feet 7 inches wide, 7 or 8 feet high; to the west, a passage about 5 feet wide. Running in front of the whole is a narrow platform, just leaving room to pass in front of the dividing wall from the one entrance to the other. In front of the church the removal of a rough modern wall of stones (seen in Fig. 2) revealed mosaic extending to the outer edge of this platform. This suggests, but perhaps does not prove, that the platform was once extended further out. But the presence of a large mosaic fish running across the entrance with head to the east and belly to the *north* (facing inwards) implies that in any case the centre of interest was inside the cave. This fish is 3 feet 2½ inches long, made of large tesserae (about two-thirds of an inch), of the same size as those of the pavement on which it is placed, and in red, black, and white. Its mouth is wide open. A wall, which must therefore be more recent than the mosaic, covers its belly, running from the middle of the tail to the tip of the lower jaw. This wall was plastered. It is 1 foot thick and had a doorway 21 inches wide at its western end, with a stone threshold standing 1 foot high above the level of the floor. The western side of the doorway is formed by a seat cut in the rock, which extends at the same level (some 18 inches above the ground) both inside and outside the doorway, of which it appears independent save for a slot cut straight across it in a line with the inner face of the wall. There appear to be no further traces of the door or wall west of the threshold.

To the east the wall is destroyed from slightly east of the head of the fish (whose tail overlaps the threshold), but its line can be roughly traced along the breach in the mosaic, and a rectangular recess (about 4 feet from the ground, a foot high, 10 inches wide and 3 inches deep) in the line of the wall, in the eastern rock-face, seems clearly to be made for retaining the wall, and equally clearly to show that the wall was in connection with the fragmentary fresco on this rock-face, the northern boundary of the frame of which would coincide exactly with the southern face of the wall. I will discuss the frescoes separately, but it seems clear that this one belongs to the older group, for which a date from 6th-8th century would be possible. If this be so the wall and door might be those mentioned in the "Life of St. Stephen the Sabaite," and this "Life" would imply

that they were, as they are to-day, near the edge of the cliff (the wall is not more than 3 feet from the edge). Only it is not clear why the saint would not have been able to leave by the other entrance unless this was blocked at the time. There are notches which may indicate a wall in front of this entrance also.

The modern wall which we destroyed stretched from this eastern rock-face about half-way across the entrance, gradually getting lower till at last it became a mere means of widening and strengthening the platform round the partition wall of rock and beyond. To the west of the smaller entrance is the mouth of a cistern projecting to the edge of the platform, which is built up over it. A square stone (some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet square) with a round aperture, built in with modern cement on the inside, projecting unsupported on the outside, has its aperture a foot or 18 inches directly above the actual cistern-mouth. The cistern recedes into the cliff. In digging away the built part of the platform in front of the smaller entrance we came on what seemed to be a small channel in old cement on the west side of the floor of this entrance, running towards this cistern but soon covered by the more recent cement. The built platform continues to rise round the angle in the rock, leading to certain foot-holes marked with crosses which were, apart from a rope, our only precarious aid as we climbed round the corner from the somewhat smooth and perpendicular eastern face of this overhanging screen of rock to a position on the rough and sloping southern face where climbing was possible.

Above the smaller entrance a perpendicular wall, indicated by the highest light in Fig. 2, projects some 4-5 feet high and 15 inches wide against the cliff. Near its foot on its left-hand side are fragments of a floor built out from the wall. I failed to get myself to a position from which I could make out the material of which this floor was made. It continues to the angle in the rock. To the right of the wall the cutting of the rock suggests that the floor was continued to the eastern screen.

Ten feet or more further up the cliff face, where the rock is curving round to form the eastern screen, is a built plastered projection, rectangular, some 5 feet high, containing two deep apse-shaped niches, the front slightly horseshoe-shaped (Fig. 8). The right-hand niche is distinctly larger than the left-hand. The former contains a fresco of the Crucifixion; the latter, one of the Virgin

of the type known as "platytera." These, with other drawings and paintings on the projection, will be described later. The conformation of the rock makes it impossible that there should ever have been a third niche on the right to complete the symmetry. The ledge of the right-hand niche is partly fallen away. So also is the underside of the projection. We can only see that this was arched in the middle. The projection is quite inaccessible for exact study and measurement. As the two niches clearly served as an altar and its *prothesis* there must have been a floor higher up immediately below the projection.

Whether all this implies a tower against the cliff or an overhanging cave which has fallen away, or by what means or for what purpose architect and artist attained this extraordinary position it is impossible at present to say. The frescoes now dominate the valley most perfectly, and they have been reported on before<sup>1</sup> while those inside the cave have been neglected. The types belong clearly to the Macedonian Renaissance (9th-12th century), and apparently to its later stages.

The cave itself consists of the church (A), with a passage-chamber (B) behind the apse leading to the third small window entrance (C). A secondary narrow window in the rock immediately north of this leaves a natural pillar round which a man's arms can just meet, and to which a rope can be attached. Chamber D is entered from the church by a low square-headed doorway now largely blocked with bats' guano. The passage E is separated from this by a solid wall of masonry, and from the church by a wall of masonry which seems to have had a doorway in it at the northern end, and which does not reach to the roof. This passage continues some short way into the rock in three directions. The only points, however, which appear of special interest in it are chamber (G), a small squarish chamber with a low wall on its eastern side, with a doorway at its southern end and a second small low door into the first westward branch of E, and a natural chimney (F) leading from the roof of E some 30 feet up into the cliff to another cave some 20 feet long which has no other outlet; this would seem to offer the explanation of the *ρύαξ εἰς τὰ ἀνώγεα τοῦ σπηλαίου* ("funnel which leads to the upper chamber of the cave") of the "Life of St. Stephen the Sabaite." On each side of the entrance to the passage is a seat similar to that in the church.

<sup>1</sup> Vailhé in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, iii.

The irregularity of the walls makes it difficult to give an accurate ground-plan of the church. The apse upon which it centres (Figs. 5, 6) is about 8 feet deep, and at its entrance 8 feet wide and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. The northern wall which separates it from the window-chamber is based, it would appear, on a pillar of solid rock, the gap between it and the main rock-wall being filled with masonry and plaster; but next to where this meets the main rock-wall we now see an arched window blocked with stones, its top some  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the ground, its ledge some 15 inches. It was filled in to carry frescoes which have since fallen away (the line of the arch cuts through haloes of saints). But the oldest layer of stucco can be seen to form an arch over it and within it. And the thickening of the wall behind the window makes us wonder whether originally it was an apse-shaped niche serving as prothesis, of which the plaster back fell away. The whole of the apse walls and roof are covered with frescoes, of which there are at least three different layers. The arched border which frames it in front conforms to the westward leaning of the rock-wall to north and south, to such an extent that its apex lies 1 foot 10 inches west of the line drawn across the mouth of the apse on the floor-plan.

A solid plastered screen ran forward westwards on each side of the entrance to the apse, continuous on its inner face with the walls of the apse, and probably formerly painted like them. On the northern side this screen is preserved to a height of up to 18 inches. Its width at the top of the preserved portion is 11 inches. It runs westward for  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet, then turns south at right angles and terminates at the west door of the sanctuary. Here it is not perfectly preserved, but the disturbance in the plaster floor shows that it had a small projection inwards (eastwards). The southern screen is not preserved at all, but its plan can be traced in the plaster floor. It was precisely similar to the northern. Only a line of mosaic, 6 inches wide, running north and south for 1 foot 10 inches across the line of the screen  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the wall, suggests the possibility that there was a second doorway here. But as in any case the mosaics appear older than the screen, it may just have survived with the screen on top of it.

Fortunately marks in the stucco on the rock-face both north and south of the apse proved to us the original height of the screens and their shape in section. Their height was 3 feet or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet,

and at the top, which was flat, there was a considerable widening outwards, and a cornice. On the south side (Fig. 3) the top of the screen fitted in more or less exactly with the lower framework of the fresco of Our Lord between angels and saints, which appears to be the oldest well-preserved fresco in the convent; while the border (of considerably later inferior stucco) inside the apse below the saints' feet and above a region of geometrical and floral design, is again at the same height and was probably once continued along the top of the inner face of the screens.

Of the altar no stone remains in place, save possibly one which is loose at its north-east corner. But its position is proved by the fragmentary mosaics of rope-work in rectangular frames which bounded it on the east. At present the plaster of the floor overlaps this mosaic on the west, but in a straight line. From this mosaic we conclude that the line of the east side of the altar lay roughly in the line of the floor-plan of the entrance to the apse.

Originally the whole floor of the apse, save for a few inches regularly marked off against the east wall, was covered in mosaics. These are now fragmentary, and the only other intelligible piece of pattern is a good small dolphin towards the left-hand side in red, black, yellow, and white, its tail obscured by a daub of plaster (Figs. 12, 13).

The rest of the floor of the church we have not had time to uncover properly except near the screen, where we found nothing of interest. In the window-chamber (B), however, we found plain mosaic in a patch close to the outside of the apse-wall, and along the foot of the north wall of the chamber.

The rock-seat, which we have already mentioned on the west side of the main entrance, continues into the church for 4 feet 2 inches. In it, at regular intervals of about 1 foot, are three shallow, round holes, the northernmost  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the others 3 inches in diameter.

Just east of the doorway into chamber D is a cupboard or square niche some 18 inches or 2 feet wide, whose top has disappeared. Above this the roof of the cave is higher than elsewhere, and its shape, utterly different from the ground-plan, gives almost the impression that the church has roughly the trefoil plan "*manqué*"—the southern apse being replaced by the main entrance. There are also various cuttings and recesses in this roof which suggest that it once had a floor, and formed a separate upper chamber.

The apse-shaped appearance is enhanced by the sudden line of demarcation between the high roof and the low roof of the window-chamber (B). The chief point of interest in this window-chamber is a cupboard semicircular in plan with the marks of two shelves which have themselves vanished. This is in the north wall of the chamber near its western end. Another irregular cupboard or recess occupies the west wall.

#### IV.—*Frescoes.*

1. On the eastern rock-face at the main entrance to the cave, outside the line of wall, and apparently in connection with it, is a fresco almost completely destroyed, in good colours (chiefly red and yellow), in solid stucco. The frame of the fresco (some 2 feet high and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide) is fairly well preserved on the top (where it is gently arched) and on its left-hand side, and some traces of pattern are to be seen at the left-hand top corner. The other fragments are only sufficient to allow us to trace the outline of a very large halo, 1 foot in diameter, reaching up to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches below the band of the border. We may conclude that the fresco was a bust of Our Lord. But the letters IC XC above the fresco seem to be the work of a monk of the 19th century, Teofan, whose productions will be subsequently referred to.

2. On the eastern rock-face between the entrance and the apse, commencing at the same level as the last, some  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the ground, leaning over considerably westward with the rock-face, a fresco about 3 feet 9 inches long at the bottom and 3 feet high, representing Our Lord between two angels and two saints. Here, as elsewhere, in the cave all the faces are destroyed, doubtless by Muslims. (Figs. 3, 4.)

Our Lord is holding a closed clasped book in His left hand, while His right is raised in front of Him in blessing. The halo is not bigger than those of the angels, but the arms of the Cross can be seen upon it. Some of the right side of the face—up to half the eye and a part of the beard—is preserved.

The angels, the tops of whose wings are to be seen on a level with the middle of the haloes, are carrying fine staves in their right hands over their right shoulders. The angel to the right of Our Lord is carrying in his left hand a round plate with a decorative cross upon it, which is half hidden behind Our Lord's right arm. The

angel to the left of Our Lord is carrying in his left hand a plain object, elliptical rather than round, which forms a sort of halo round something which is for the most part destroyed, but of which the fragment remaining is of a dark bluish colour, and also appears to be elliptical. Something remains of the beardless chin of this angel. The two saints have both hands raised and open in front of their bodies in prayer.

The colours of this fresco are good and the stucco very solid. It appears to belong to the same age as the last, and we should judge both to be early, perhaps of the 6th century. But if, as some evidence suggests, they are contemporaneous with the wall, they must be later than the mosaic fish, and so not of the very first age of the convent. There are traces of contemporaneous inscriptions, now quite illegible, on the wide border below this fresco. Above it is writing of a different date, in black on the white stucco, of which part can be distinguished in the photographs.

3. We now come to the more difficult problem of the apse (Figs. 5, 6, 7), and it will perhaps be simplest if we first describe the various stuccoes. (a) The oldest is a good stucco, but perhaps slightly more powdery than that used in the frescoes of which we have just been speaking. It is almost invariably criss-crossed with scratches to hold later stucco. It is found on the lowest level on the whole, or almost the whole, of the side walls of the apse, coloured, often with a good red; but in at least one area the plain white stucco is covered with scratches. (b) Elsewhere, on the upper reaches of the wall, on the roof, and at the corners, this is replaced as a basis by a solid kind of grey cement. In one point at least, at the right-hand side of the window or prothesis, the painted stucco underlying the lower reaches of the wall merges imperceptibly into the grey cement of its upper reaches, with which it forms one body. The grey cement is not, of course, itself painted directly, but carries a coating of painted stucco of thickness varying from a very thin coating to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. This stucco is slightly inferior—less solid—than that of the lower reaches, but it is clean and good. The colours also on it are good. But fragments may suggest that we should distinguish two periods in the paintings based on the grey cement. If so, the great fresco on the roof of the apse should apparently belong to the second period. The whole roof of the apse and its front corners exhibit this kind of stucco. (c) The sides of the apse were subsequently coated with a very poor stucco made almost entirely of

straw, and made to adhere by the scratchings in the old stucco. It is this which is painted in its lower reaches with a pattern of festoons and conventional trees. (d) The figures of saints round the walls of the apse in many places overlie this bad stucco, though their stucco has been so laid as to seem to fit into that of the great fresco. This stucco is thin and brittle, and the painting of the figures is stiff and imitative.

The great fresco (Fig. 7) represents Our Lord seated in a semi-transparent mandorla which is supported by four angels. He holds a book open on His knee with His right hand. On it is written:—

+ ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ  
ΤΟΦΩΣ ΚΑΙ  
Η ΖΩΗ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΝΑΤΑΞΙΣ  
ΟΠΙΣΤΕΥ  
ΩΝΕΙΣ ΜΕ  
ΕΧΕΙ ΖΩΗΝ ΑΙ  
ΩΝΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ  
ΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΟΟΚ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ

+ I am the Light and the Life and Resurrection. He that believeth on Me hath eternal Life and cometh not into judgement.

× ΔΕΥΤΕ  
ΠΡΟΣΜΕΠ  
ΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ  
ΚΟΠΙΩΝ  
ΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕ  
ΦΟΡΤΙΣΜΕ  
ΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ  
ΑΝΑΠΑΥ  
ΣΩ ΥΜΑΣ

× Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden and I will give you rest.

The feet of Christ are upon an orb, which is upon six wings, which are upon a second orb, the latter being cut into by the halo of the central saint of the row round the walls of the apse. His feet are thus cramped close together. His right hand is raised in front of Him in blessing. The four angels support the mandorla with hands spread out far apart. The two lower float along the side of the apse with strange balloon-like appendages to their ankles (one of them is seen well in Fig. 5). The upper pair are more in an upright position, and their skirts are to be seen through the semi-transparent mandorla—the one on Our Lord's right more or less floating, the one on His left appearing to be standing on something, though it is hard to say what. The mandorla is ornamented with stars, as seen in the photograph. The front border of the apse belongs to this fresco. It is a moulded rim painted with a red band



on which are designs of leaves in grey along its whole length. The fresco continues in front of this, and appears once to have covered the whole, or a very large part, of the roof of the cave.

Of the saints round the apse, all have their faces destroyed and covered with a X in red, perhaps from the brush of the monk Teofan. There are thirteen in all. Numbering them from the west end of the south side, No. 1 appears to have his hands raised in front of him in prayer. No. 2, with his right hand raised in blessing, is over white scratched stucco. No. 3 holds a book in both hands. No. 4 holds a book in his left hand, and blesses with the right. From here on the figures are, at least in their lower parts, over bad straw stucco, which again covers the old scratched stucco. The heads on this side at least remain directly over old stucco or grey cement.


No. 7's head cuts into the lower orb under Our Lord's feet. On the north side (Fig. 5) Nos. 8 and 9 are cut into by the arch of the prothesis, in which the lower layer of old stucco is found on the inner surfaces of the arch, with a border painted along the rim. No. 10 has the name **MATΘAIOC** inscribed directly above. No. 11 has **MARKOC**. No. 12 also has an inscription, ending in **C**. The halo of No. 13 seems to go very near cutting into the angel's garments. Whether or no such a row of saints belonged originally to the great fresco, it appears that in their present form they are later restorations.

From palaeography and drapery, as well as from stucco and from general spirit, the great fresco seems to be of later date than the two frescoes first described. It would fit in well with the 13th century, though there is nothing to forbid its being a few centuries earlier.

4. On the west face of the north wall of the apse are remains of frescoes. (Fig. 6.) These are a foot or so above the old level of the top of the screen. They include fragments of two hands, the left hand covering the body horizontally, the right hand raised upright. But these are very fragmentary, and their chief interest may perhaps be in the fragment of inscription attached to them in white on blue below. This is hard to decipher, but includes in the right hand half of the first line **ANECTHCAC ΦΥCIN** ("Thou didst raise up again the nature") and of the second **ΒΡΕΦΟΣ ΕΙC ΑΓΚΑΛ[ΑC ΜΗΤΡΟΣ]** ("a child unto the arm[s of its mother]"). This fresco might be early, but it is too fragmentary for us to be very certain. Superimposed upon it are some of Teofan's inscriptions.

5. We come to the frescoes on the cliff-face above the cave (Figs. 8, 9). The shape of the wall on which they are found has already been described. The smaller niche contains a Virgin of the type "platytéra" ("Broader than Heaven"), with the hands spread out in prayer, and on the breast a medallion containing a bust of the infant Christ on a sky-blue ground. The Virgin is clothed in red. The eyes of both figures have fallen away.

The larger niche contains a Crucifixion. The Head of Christ leans over on to the shoulder, and the arms are stretched out nearly horizontally on the Cross. The feet are nailed to a short cross-piece,

and the base of the Cross is fixed in a little mound  above a

flat band of colour which runs round the base of the niche. Over each arm of the Cross is the upper part of the body of a small bird-like angel. The Virgin has her head raised towards the Crucified, and her hands crossed (?) on her breast. St. John has his head bowed and his right hand raised to cover his eyes. This fresco occupies the curve of its niche, and its background of blue is marked off clearly from the plain white background of the sides of the niche toward the entry. On each of these two sides, his head curving over with the curve of the arch, is a bearded monastic saint carrying a scroll. It was impossible to get near enough to read the Greek inscriptions on the scrolls.

A roundel between the arches of the two niches is practically filled by a face, greatly disfigured, and apparently beardless. Above the other side of the arch of the smaller niche, and cut through by it diagonally, is the bust of a saint. On the left-hand (northern) side of the projection are four saints' heads drawn in brown outlines in rectangular frames almost contiguous, diminishing in size from the bottom upwards.

The artistic feeling and workmanship of the frescoes in the two niches show the influence of the First Byzantine Renaissance. The details of the Crucifixion are typical of the 11th-13th centuries, and find a particularly close parallel in a miniature of a Vatopedi Tetraevangelion (No. 610, fol. 149) of the 12th-13th century.<sup>1</sup> A miniature mosaic of 11th-12th century, also at Vatopedi, shows the same type.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie des Évangiles*, fig. 428.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, *ib.*, fig. 2.

Apart from these big frescoes the cave is full of many more or less undecipherable fragments of painting and inscriptions. We may instance a small cross, in red, with spear and reed, and the letters IC XC above the arms, low down on the south-east wall of the window-chamber, near the back of the apse. Underneath it are fragments of an inscription in black Greek uncials, including the word **ΚΗΡΥΚΕΣ**. Hereabouts we also found on the floor a fragment of dark-painted stucco laid upon plain earth, with an Arabic inscription painted on in black, but not long enough to be intelligible. The whole cave is covered with graffiti in Greek and Arabic, and the practice had been indulged in the apse even before the straw stucco was laid over the older stuff.

Finally, the cave is full of crosses, of IC XC inscriptions, etc., in recent red paint, clearly the work of the monk Teofan, who, on September 1st, 1884, painted up his name in red on the west wall of the church near the entrance, more or less effacing an older painting of his name in blue. He also painted a picture of some shrine or church, and, on the roof, a sun and a half-moon, both with faces, in bright colours.

In exploring the cave we also made certain other discoveries :—

1. Fragment of a carving in low-relief on asphaltitic limestone. A right hand open in front of the curve of the shoulder. (Fig. 10A.)
2. Fragment of inscription in asphaltitic limestone rather inferior in quality to the last (the stone is local). The three letters **ΦΕΡ** over the right-hand side of what appears to be part of a large roundel. (Fig. 11.) The stone suggests part of a sarcophagus (the *σώρος* in which Theoctistus and Maris were buried?). Perhaps the inscription ran

**ΘΗΚΗΔΙΑ]    ΦΕΡ[ΟΥΣΑ.**

3. Two fragments of the corner of a narrow panel of a screen in fine white marble. (Fig. 10B.) The back of the fragment is not smoothed.
4. Two fragments of the arm of a cross and a wide straight border in very coarse grey marble.

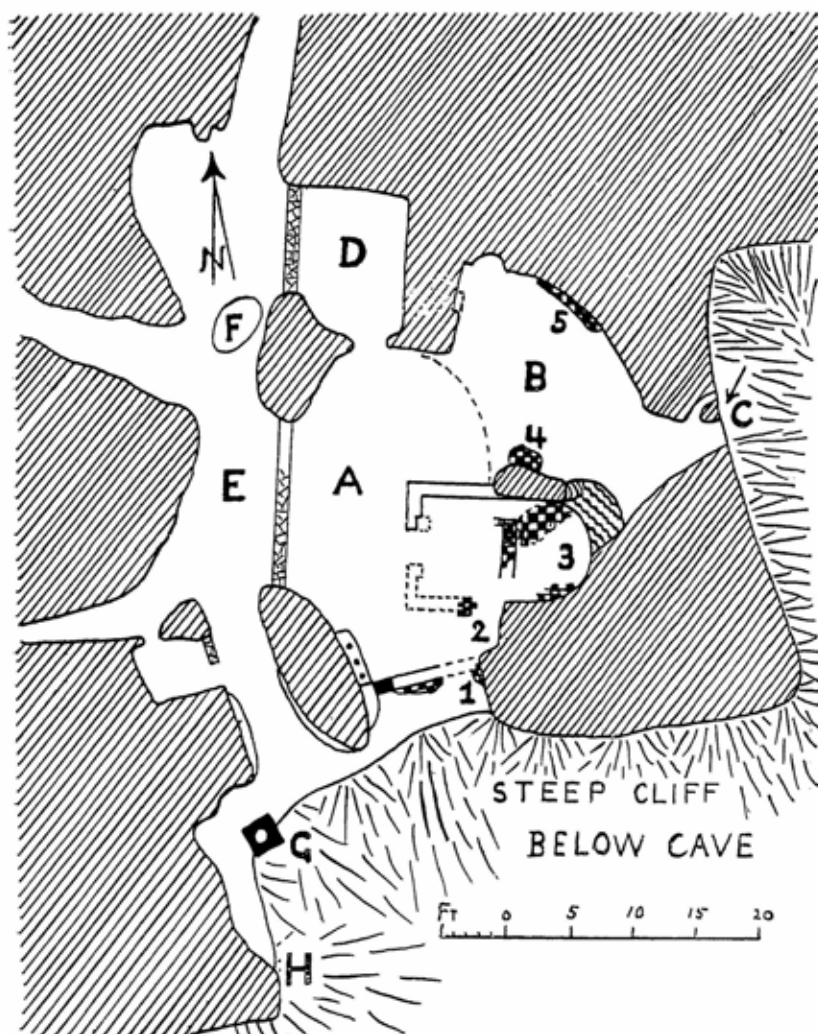
We also found and left in the cave several well-shaped stones, chiselled to hold plaster. Other finds included many recent fragments of service-books in a Slavonic language, of books in German and Russian, of Greek guides for iconographers, a large

paint-brush, a small lantern, a sardine-tin, and—9 inches deep in the platform over the cistern-head—the Austro-Hungarian passport of Peter Petrisov, viséd for Jerusalem in 1886, together with a perplexing collection of correspondence, chiefly in Russian and Roumanian.

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SKETCH PLAN OF THE CAVE OF SAINT THEOOTISTUS.

- A. Church, with rock-cut apse, blocked window or niche, ||||, and foundations of screens.
  - B. Window-chamber, with rock cupboards.
  - C. Window entrance: the ladder-top was attached 3 feet below the arrow-point.
  - D. Inner chamber, rock-cut,
  - E. West passage, separated from A and D by walls of which the foundations remain.
  - F. Chimney in passage-roof leading to the Upper Cave: ῥύαξ εἰς τὰ ἀνώγεια.
  - G. Mouth of cistern.
  - H. Foot-holes in cliff.
  - 1, 2, 3. Mosaic floors as described in the text: other fragments of mosaic are marked ■■■■: threshold in solid black.
- Below the openings, the cliff falls away steeply to south and east.
-



SKETCH PLAN OF THE CAVE OF SAINT THEOCTISTUS.



FIG. 2.—CLIFF FACE FROM SOUTH. LARGE DOUBLE CAVE  
ENTRANCE SLIGHTLY ABOVE CENTRE.



FIG. 1.—DEIR MUKELIK FROM THE EAST. SMALL CAVE  
ENTRANCE INDICATED BY ARROWS.



FIG. 3.—FRESCO ON WALL SOUTH OF APSE.



FIG. 4. DETAIL. OUR LORD BETWEEN TWO ANGELS.

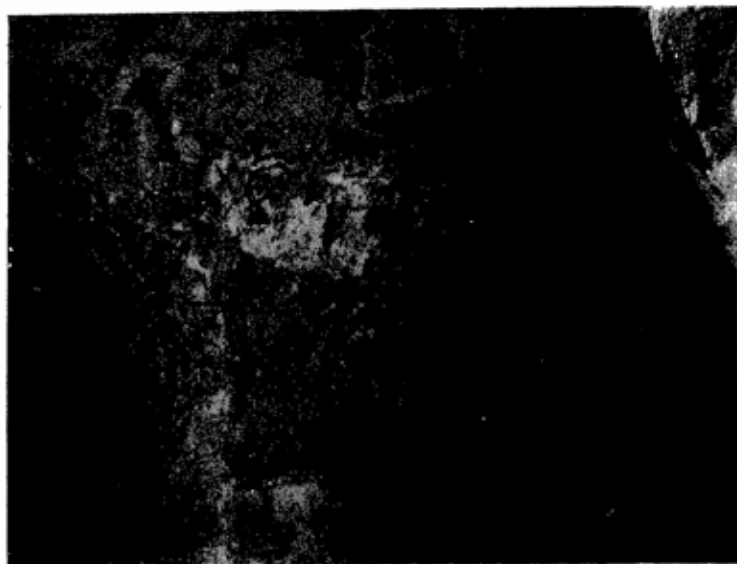


FIG. 5.—NORTH WALL OF APSE.

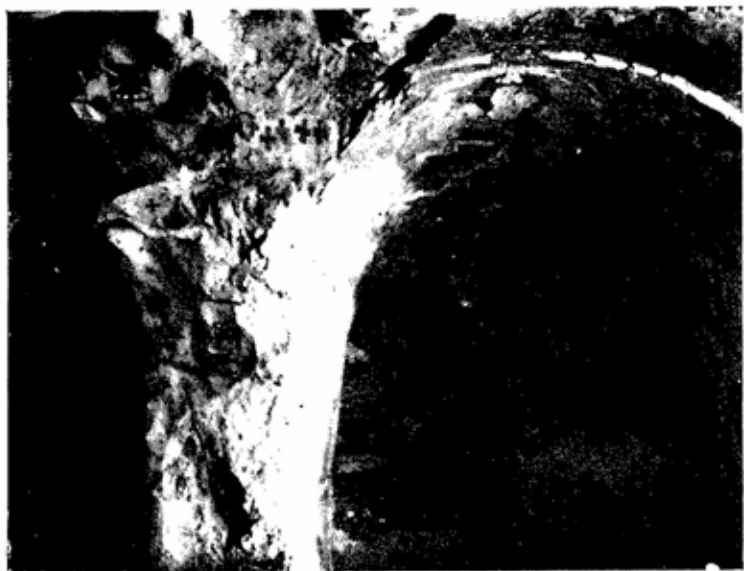


FIG. 6.—APSE, SHOWING GREAT FRESKO AND WEST FACE OF NORTH WALL.





FIG. 7.—THE GREAT FRESCO ON THE ROOF OF THE APSE.



FIG. 8.—FRESCOED NICHES ABOVE THE CAVE.



FIG. 9.—FRESCOED NICHE (ENLARGED).



A

B

FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

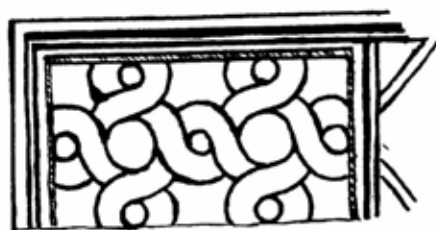


FIG. 13.



## THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH NAVY AT JAFFA IN THE YEAR 68 A.D.

By S. TOLKOWSKY. (Tel-Aviv.)

FROM the day when Simon Maccabaeus had annexed Jaffa to the Jewish state (142 B.C.), and had expelled its Greek inhabitants who had been plotting to deliver the town into the hands of the King of Syria, Jaffa had become a Jewish centre of intense religious and national fervour. No wonder, therefore, that when the revolt against Rome broke out in the year 66 the Jews of Jaffa were in the forefront of the movement; the result being that, when the Roman Proconsul of Syria, Cestius Gallus, came down from Antioch to restore order in Judaea his first object was the reduction of Jaffa. Attacked unexpectedly from two sides, the city was taken without great difficulty, plundered, and completely burnt; whilst the whole population, numbering about 8,400 souls, was put to the sword. Cestius then advanced on Jerusalem; but after several unsuccessful assaults he gave up the siege and was retiring towards the maritime plain closely pursued by the Jewish army when, in the pass of Beth-Horon, he was attacked by them, and his force completely routed. In addition to losing over 6,000 men and a number of his best officers, his war material, baggage, and military chest fell into the hands of the victors. The rupture with Rome was complete; a national government was set up in Jerusalem, and energetic preparations were made for the supreme conflict with the forces of the Roman Empire.

The Emperor Nero must have been following the development of events in Palestine with considerable anxiety. For some time past the Empire and its capital had been visited by a series of disasters which, by reason of their gravity and frequency, had begun to irritate the public at Rome to the point of seriously endangering the position of the Emperor himself and his personal safety. In the course of the year 59 a revolt, led by Queen Boadicea, had broken

out in Britain and had only been put down after two years' fighting, with great difficulty and with heavy losses to the Roman army. In 62, whilst on the eastern frontier of the Empire, a large Roman army had been surrounded by the Parthians and had been forced to lay down its arms and to evacuate Armenia, an earthquake had destroyed a large section of Pompeii, the luxurious pleasure resort of the Roman aristocracy. A year later occurred the great fire which completely annihilated two-thirds of the city of Rome. Whether or not caused by Nero himself, as many people thought, the fact remains that this great disaster resulted in further alienating from the Emperor the sympathies of the wealthier classes; the populace itself, deprived of its poor belongings, was affected, and if the Roman *plebs* continued to remain faithful to Nero, it was due only to the lavish manner in which he continued to provide them with games and with grain, "*panem et circenses*." The rapidly decreasing prestige of the Emperor was bound sooner or later to react even upon the armed forces of the Empire; in the year 64 a great conspiracy was formed amongst the Pretorian guard for murdering Nero and installing a new emperor on the throne, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the movement was suppressed. Hardly had this danger been averted when a terrible pestilence visited Rome, causing an enormous number of victims.

Meanwhile, Nero, affected with the strange folly of believing himself to be the greatest poet and actor of the age, had developed an irresistible craving for public applause as a literary and theatrical genius; after having, in 64, appeared on the stage before the half-Greek public of Naples, he left Rome towards the end of the year 66, accompanied by a large retinue of soldiers, courtiers, dancers, and musicians, for Greece, where he intended to spend a year competing for the prizes for poetry and acting in the great popular festivals of that country. It was whilst engaged on this artistic tour in Greece that he received the news of the disastrous end of Cestius Gallus' expedition to Palestine. Although in public he affected to treat the matter as of little importance, saying that the reverses which the army had suffered were due rather to the negligence of its commanders than to any valour of the enemy, in reality he was deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the disaster itself, and still more by the grave and far-reaching complications which it was likely to bring about in the political affairs of the Empire.

The finances of the Roman Empire as well as the food supply of the capital depended essentially on the stream of gold and grain which, partly in the form of revenues from imperial domains and partly as ordinary consignments from Alexandrian exporters to Roman merchants,<sup>1</sup> kept flowing towards Italy from the Asiatic and African provinces, but mainly from Egypt, a country which since its annexation to the Empire, on the death of Cleopatra, had become Rome's principal granary. Every summer, after the completion of the harvest in Egypt, that is to say, from the month of May onwards, the stream of huge convoys set in which, forming part of the "corn-fleet" first organized by Augustus, sailed at regular intervals from Alexandria to the ports of southern and central Italy, where, in huge warehouses, the grain was stored that was destined to feed the ever hungry populace of the imperial city. On the safe journey and punctual arrival of the corn-ships depended the mood of the Roman *plebs*, and on the mood of the Roman *plebs* depended more perhaps than on any other factor the peace of Italy and the solidity of the imperial throne. But the second half of July and the whole month of August are precisely the period of the year during which sailing vessels find it impossible to proceed direct from Egypt to Italy on account of the Etesian (= yearly) winds which, during those six weeks, blow with great velocity and strength from the north-western shores of the Mediterranean Sea towards its south-eastern corner; the only way to reach the capital during this difficult period was to creep slowly along the coast of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, taking advantage of every local breeze.

The disaster in Judaea had struck a heavy blow at the prestige of Rome; and in the East, where rumours travel fast, there was no doubt that by the time the news of the defeat in Palestine reached the court of Nero it had already spread through all the bazaars of western Asia and northern Africa, magnified into fantastic proportions, reviving hopes of freedom and encouraging attempts to throw off the heavy yoke of Rome. The numerous Jewish communities scattered all over the Mediterranean world would also do their best to exaggerate the importance of the victory gained by their brethren in Palestine, and miss no opportunity to promote

<sup>1</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, art. "Frumentum," in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopædie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. vii, p. 141.

everywhere local disturbances designed to embarrass still further the Imperial Government in the prosecution of the war. But the chief danger lay with the powerful Jews of Egypt; had they not in the year 55, soon after the accession of Nero, sent a large force into Palestine with the object of setting Jerusalem free from Roman rule? They held influential positions in the corn trade,<sup>1</sup> in the shipping business,<sup>2</sup> and probably as well in the administration of the imperial corn revenues.<sup>3</sup> Would they not now use their positions and power to interfere with Rome's supply of grain? During the last few years lack of funds had already compelled the Emperor to reduce the quantities of corn distributed to the people.<sup>4</sup> A stoppage, nay, even a delay of a few weeks, in the arrival of the corn-ships might cause serious inconvenience, and perhaps starvation in Rome, and, in the prevailing state of unrest, who could foretell all the consequences of such a calamity?

Clearly the position was very serious, and it was essential that at the earliest possible moment the Jews of Palestine should be taught a lesson severe enough to prove to the fickle Eastern nations that, though Roman arms might on occasions suffer a temporary reverse, Rome was still, and meant to remain, the mistress of the world.

Among the military members of the suite that had accompanied Nero to Greece there was Titus Flavius Vespasianus, a general of wide experience both in war and civil administration. He had already distinguished himself in Germany and Britain; he had been consul for a brief space in the year 51, and had just completed a successful term of office as governor of the province of Africa. Moreover, he was likely to find valuable collaborators in his two sons, Titus and Domitian, both of them capable soldiers. It was this Vespasian whom Nero, in the autumn of the year 66, appointed to command the army of operations against the Jews, investing him with the powers of an imperial legate.

Vespasian despatched at once his son Titus to Alexandria, to fetch thence the XVth legion; he himself proceeded to Antioch, the capital of Syria, where, in the course of the winter, he

<sup>1</sup> Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> Josephus, *c. Apion.* II, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cassius Dio, LXII, 18, 5.



concentrated all his available forces, including a large number of auxiliaries furnished by the kings of the neighbouring states. As soon as the winter rains were over he marched to Acco, where he was joined by Titus and his legion, who had come up from Egypt through the maritime plain. He now set out to subdue Galilee.

The thoroughness of Vespasian's preparations made the people in Judaea realize the critical position in which they would soon find themselves if the enemy was allowed to continue unhampered with the execution of his plans. Whether or not they had received intelligence of the state of public opinion in Italy and in the western provinces of the Empire, where general dissatisfaction was rapidly coming to a head and revolutionary outbreaks were expected at any moment, the fact is that they decided on a move such as since the Punic Wars no enemy of Rome had dared to imagine against her. Their plan aimed at nothing less than a food blockade of the city of Rome herself. As soon as Titus and his legions had arrived at Acco and no Roman troops remained in the maritime plain the Jews reoccupied the ruins of Jaffa, repaired its walls, and built themselves a large number of swift warships, and by the time the first corn-ships were ready to start from Alexandria for Italy, Jewish corsairs had taken to the sea and were attacking shipping all along the coasts of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, thereby providing the Jewish corn merchants and shipowners of Alexandria with a very plausible pretext for suspending further sailings. The news of this latest Jewish move and of the threat which it implied against the food supply of Rome reached Vespasian late in June, or early in July, under the walls of Jotapata, the principal Jewish fortress of Galilee, which he had been besieging unsuccessfully for 47 days. Placing himself at the head of a small band of soldiers he scaled the walls during the night and took the city.<sup>1</sup> Three days later,<sup>2</sup> leaving Titus in command of the troops operating in Galilee, Vespasian marched back to Acco and thence to Caesarea, the great harbour which Herod had built in the days of Augustus mainly for the purpose of providing Rome's corn-fleets with a convenient shelter on their voyage northwards. From Caesarea, whose Greek inhabitants received the Roman troops as liberators, Vespasian detached a large force of cavalry and infantry which surprised

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Jewish War*, Book III, Ch. VII, 33-36.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Ch. IX, 1.

Jaffa at night and entered it whilst it was unguarded. The occupants of the city, realizing that resistance was futile, fled to their ships, and spent the night on the waters, at safe distance from the shore. But in the morning there arose a violent storm which "dashed some of their ships against one another there, and some against the rocks, and many that were violently striving against the advancing tide to get into the open seas (for they were afraid of the rocky shore and the enemy upon it) were submerged by the waves that rose mountains high. Nor was there any place where they could flee to, nor any safety if they stayed where they were, as they were thrust off the sea by the violence of the wind, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And there was loud lamentation when the ships dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces, and some of the multitude in them were swallowed up by the waves, and so perished, and a great many were entangled in the wrecks. And some of them thought that to die by their own swords was an easier death than by the sea, and so they killed themselves; however, most were carried away by the waves and dashed to pieces against the rocks, so that the sea was bloody a long way and the shore was full of dead bodies, and the Romans watched for those that were carried safe ashore and slew them. And the number of bodies that came ashore was four thousand two hundred."<sup>1</sup> Jaffa was razed to the ground, and Vespasian, to prevent the Jews from making use again of the harbour of Jaffa, placed a fortified camp on the summit of the hill, where the citadel had stood, and left a garrison of infantry and cavalry, who destroyed the villages and small towns, ravaged the fields and prevented them from being cultivated again, thus rendering the whole district uninhabitable. The seas were free once more for the fleets of Rome, the Alexandrian corn merchants had no pretext left to them for not resuming at once their consignments, and the population of the imperial city continued to receive their grain from Egypt without further hindrance, whilst Vespasian returned to Galilee, the total submission of which he completed before the end of the same year. Still, the few weeks of activity of the Jews on the sea appear to have told on the food supply of Rome, for we know that the following year (68) witnessed a great famine in Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *id.*, Book III, Ch. IX, 3.

The winter was spent by the Roman armies in camp at Caesarea and Scythopolis (Beisān) ; in the following spring (68) the conquest of Judaea was taken in hand.

Meanwhile, affairs in Europe were approaching a crisis. Early in the year 68 a revolt broke out in Gaul, whilst both in Spain and in Portugal the Roman legions rebelled, and proclaimed new emperors in the persons of their respective generals. Nero at last tore himself away from his artistic pleasures in Greece and returned to Rome, only to witness the proclamation by the Senate of Galba as emperor in his place, whilst he himself was sentenced to death, a punishment which he escaped by committing suicide in June, 68. Vespasian, being now without orders as to the prosecution of the Judæan War, suspended operations pending the receipt of new instructions. But before the new emperor had had time to devote attention to affairs in the East, he was murdered in the middle of the Forum at Rome early in the year 69. The senate voted him a statue standing upon a column adorned with the beaks of ships in the part of the Forum where he was slain. Italy became now the scene of a violent civil war, out of which another general, Vitellius, emerged as emperor. But Vitellius was unpopular with the Syrian and Egyptian legions, in whose opinion their own commander-in-chief was by far the better candidate. Thus was Vespasian, in July, 69, proclaimed emperor by the soldiers both in Judaea and in Egypt. "His first idea was to make himself master of Alexandria, knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence to the Empire, because of it supplying corn, so that if he could get master of Egypt, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, if the latter tried to keep the Empire by force, for the *population of Rome would not stand hunger*."<sup>1</sup> He sent his son Domitian to crush the forces of Vitellius in Italy, whilst he himself proceeded to Alexandria and put an immediate stop to any further despatches of corn to Italy. However, during the winter 69-70, he received the news of the defeat and murder of Vitellius and of his own recognition as Emperor at Rome. Tacitus (iv, 53) tells us that on the receipt of this news Vespasian "committed to the still stormy seas his swiftest vessels, laden with corn, for the city (of Rome) was on the brink of famine, having no more than ten days' supply in the granaries when Vespasian's stores arrived." In the spring of the year 70 he embarked for Italy, after having

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *id.*, Book IV, Ch. X, 5.

sent Titus to prosecute and complete the siege of Jerusalem. One of Vespasian's first acts on arriving at Rome was to annul the decree of the Senate for the erection to Galba of the statue on a column adorned with the beaks of ships, thus showing that he claimed for himself the credit of some naval victory gained by him during the short reign of Galba.

Josephus has given us<sup>1</sup> a detailed description of the triumph which the Senate of Rome accorded Vespasian and Titus on the latter's return from Judaea; among the spoils that were carried in the procession "many ships" are mentioned, together with the sacred vessels from the Temple.

Vespasian reigned from 69 to 79, and was succeeded by Titus (79-81) and by Domitian (81-96), whose assassination brought the Flavian dynasty to an end. In commemoration of the Roman reconquest of Judaea each one of these three emperors in turn struck gold, silver, and copper coins bearing a design showing Judaea in the shape of a woman sitting in desolation under the shade of a palm tree, surrounded by the well-known inscription "JUDAEA CAPTA." What is less generally known is that on some of these coins the inscription reads not JUDAEA CAPTA, but JUDAEA NAVALIS.<sup>2</sup> On one coin in the British Museum, Jews are shown in supplication at the feet of Titus, who is standing holding in his right hand the statuette of a winged victory, whilst his right foot rests on the prow of a broken galley; the date of this coin is 73.<sup>1</sup> There are also in existence coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian with the legend VICTORIA NAVALIS.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, no Roman emperors treated the Roman people to as numerous and as spectacular representations of sham sea-fights as Titus and Domitian, the latter actually dug a special pool for sea-fights near the Tiber, and surrounded it with seats. It is also reported of him that he liked to appear in public crowned with a wreath of corn-ears.<sup>3</sup> Thus, although according to Josephus the storm, much more than Roman arms, had been responsible for the destruction of the Jewish ships at Jaffa, we see, for fully twenty years after the fall of Jerusalem, all the three

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *id.*, Book VII, Ch. V, 3-6.

<sup>2</sup> S. Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine: a History of Jaffa* (London, 1924), p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, art. "Frumentum," in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopædie* vol. vii, p. 134.

emperors of the Flavian dynasty—whom both the Senate and the proletariat hated and constantly conspired against<sup>1</sup>—taking care to keep alive in the memory of the Roman people the recollection of the all-important service which they had rendered the empire and its capital by “defeating” the short-lived but apparently effective Judæan Navy.

The only existing authority for the destruction of a Jewish fleet at Jaffa during the great Jewish rebellion against Rome is Josephus in his *Jewish War*; but his account differs from the one which I have given above in one essential point, and that is that, whereas Josephus describes the maritime operations of the Jews as ordinary piracy at the expense of trade generally, I have represented them as a clever and daring strategical move directed first and foremost against the food supply of the city of Rome herself. The reasons which have caused me to adopt this view are as follows:—

Josephus says that the Jews reoccupied Jaffa with the intention of using it as a basis for military operations by land, but that “*Because the adjoining region had been laid waste in war and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to shift their operations to the sea.* So they built themselves a great many piratical ships and turned pirates on the seas near Syria and Phœnicia and Egypt, and made these seas unnavigable to all men.” Now, if the neighbourhood had really been devoid of all foodstuffs to the extent of not being able to support the few thousand men who had established themselves at Jaffa, then there would have been no reason for the Romans, after the capture of the city, to “scur the country as they were ordered to do, and every day to ravage and desolate the whole region” with the obvious purpose of preventing people settling there again. Josephus wrote his book a few years after the war, at a time when in Rome anti-Jewish feeling was still at its height, a fact which he in his preface attributes largely to the fact that “some men who were not concerned in the affairs (of the war) themselves, have collected together vain and contradictory stories from hearsay, and have recorded them in a sophistical manner, while those that were present have given false accounts of things, either in flattery to the Romans or from hatred to the Jews.” Because he seeks to allay the Romans’ animosity against the Jews, Josephus does his

<sup>1</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), p. 110 seq.

best to hide the real purpose and to minimize the importance of the naval depredations of his countrymen: he makes them "turn pirates" only because they had no other means of subsistence; he represents their activities as directed not specifically against Rome, but against "all men" indiscriminately, and by making Vespasian hear of these activities of the Jaffa Jews only after he had already arrived at Caesarea, he creates the impression that the whole affair was really one of secondary and purely local importance. But this manner of presenting the facts makes it impossible for Josephus to state any good reason, and in fact any reason whatsoever, for the Roman general's sudden departure from the Galilean front, and so, since some object has to be assigned to his journey, Josephus, in a passage which sounds very much like a late interpolation, adds—forgetting that it is still summer and that all the troops are engaged in Galilee—that "Vespasian also placed two of the legions at Caesarea for their winter quarters, perceiving that the city was fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and fifth at Scythopolis . . ." To me it is clear that if Vespasian, in the midst of his difficult campaign in Galilee and in derogation of his plans which were not to touch Judaea until the whole northern districts were pacified, suddenly decided on this expedition to Caesarea there can be only one explanation, namely, that something very serious had happened in the coastal region to the south of that town, something grave enough to necessitate not only immediate intervention but the presence of the commander-in-chief in person; and since the only military operation carried out in the course of this expedition was the capture of Jaffa, it follows that the naval activities of the Jews there were far from being as harmless an affair as Josephus would have his readers believe; and who knows whether it was not the example of the Jaffa Jews that gave Vespasian the idea, two years later, of seizing Alexandria in order to starve Vitellius into surrender and Rome into submission to his own rule?

And this brings us to another point which may also help to throw some light on the problem. The *Jewish War* was written probably between the years 75 and 79, but in any case later than 73, for the last events mentioned in the book are of that year. During the few years that had elapsed since the destruction of the Jewish State, Josephus, who had accompanied Titus to Rome, had there

been granted Roman citizenship by Vespasian and had received from him a yearly pension and a valuable estate in Judaea ; moreover, when Josephus, who had surrendered to the Romans at the capitulation of the fortress of Jotapata in Galilee, had been given his freedom by Vespasian he had, according to custom, adopted the latter's family name, "Flavius." Josephus had, therefore, every reason to be personally grateful to Vespasian and to avoid doing or saying anything likely to damage the emperor's prestige in the eyes of the Roman people. Still, in his *Jewish War*, Josephus clearly states that, whilst still in Palestine, Vespasian, in order to win the Empire, had formed the plan to starve the population of Rome. Josephus must have been fully aware of the danger to which he was exposing himself by making such a statement, and he was not the man lightly to risk his fortune and, perhaps, his life. It is difficult to see for his act any other reason than the desire to weaken the effect produced on the attitude of the Roman people towards the Jews by the repeated issues of the coins struck by Vespasian in commemoration of the destruction of the Jewish fleet. If this theory is correct, then we have here on the part of Josephus an act of moral courage which atones for many of his errors.

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## REVIEWS.

*Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina.* By Dr. Gustaf Dalman. C. Bertelsmann in Gütersloh. 1928. 15 marks.

THIS is the first volume of a proposed series of scientific observations on Life and Customs in Modern Palestine, especially in connection with our understanding of the Bible. Things are rapidly changing in the Holy Land, and much folk-lore will inevitably disappear with the inrush of European ideas. It is of real importance to record as much as possible. Professor Dalman, with his long years of residence in Palestine, his profound knowledge of oriental language and literature, and his acute powers of observation, is singularly fitted to carry out such a task as this. He has here grouped his materials chiefly around the seasons autumn and winter, and under these headings has collected a great store of facts and of folk-lore concerning the seasons, the weather, and the fauna of the land. His facts are marshalled with the detailed exactness we have learned to expect from such a writer. At the end of the book are some beautiful reproductions from photographs, illustrating chiefly the trees, shrubs, and flowers of Palestine.

*The Annual Bulletin of the Academy of Medicine of Jerusalem, 1926-1927.* Edited by Dr. H. J. Orr-Ewing.

THIS first *Bulletin* of this thoroughly international—and polyglot—Academy of Medicine is appropriately dedicated to Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, who, as patron, himself attended the annual meeting. Among the first objects of the Academy is put the promotion of good feeling among medical practitioners, and we gather that in this its establishment has had great success. Its fifty members are of many races and of many languages, though the meetings and the proceedings are in English. The account here given of the meetings of the society show a great variety of subjects discussed—"Intracranial pressure," Typhoid fever, X-ray work, "Plagues," Artificial feeding of infants, etc. It is to be hoped that both this remarkable Academy of Medicine and its valuable *Annual Bulletin* will continue to flourish.

E. W. G. M.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Penuel*.—The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, in his interesting note on Penuel (*Q.S.*, April, p. 99), calls attention to the apparent confusion in Genesis xxxii, 22–31. This confusion seems to be removed if, with Driver, we omit the words “and passed over the ford of Jabbok. 23. And he took them” (Driver, *Genesis*, p. 294), or, with Ball, attribute to the Elohist writer the words וַיַּעְבֵּר אֶת מַעְבְּרֵי יַבֶּק (“and passed over the ford of Jabbok,” v. 23, Heb.) (C. J. Ball, *The Book of Genesis in Hebrew*, Haupt, *S.B.O.T.*, p. 28). Is it necessary to suggest a lapse of time between v. 30 and v. 31? Verse 31 seems to follow naturally enough upon v. 26.

With regard to the word “Penuel,” Driver (*Genesis*, p. 296) and Merrill (*Hastings’ Dict. Bible*, vol. iii, p. 739) suggest that the name may have been derived from some physical feature in the locality, and point to Strabo’s Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, near Tripolis in Phoenicia (Strabo, xvi, 2, 15 f.). The *u* in Penuel is the old termination of the nominative case (Gesenius’ Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 90 K), found in the middle of a few very old proper names, e.g. Methushael (מֶתוּשָׁאֵל), Methuselah (מֶתוּשֶׁלַח). Is it not likely that Peniel was substituted in v. 30 by some later writer to make quite plain the spiritual teaching of the passage?

REV. R. D. MIDDLETON, M.A.

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# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

## HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.	
א	'		כ	<u>kh</u>	
ב	b		ל	l	
בּ	<u>bh</u>		מ	m	
ג	g		נ	n	
גּ	<u>gh</u>		ס	s	
ד	d		פ	'	
דּ	<u>dh</u>		פּ	p	
ה	<u>h</u>		פּ	f	
ו	v, w		צ	z	
ז	z		כּ	<u>k</u>	
ח	<u>h</u>		ר	r	
ט	<u>t</u>		ש	<u>sh</u>	
י	y		שׁ	s	
כ	k		שׂ	t	
			ת	<u>th</u>	

## ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.	
ا	'		د	d	
ب	b		ت	t	
ث	t		ظ	<u>tz</u>	
ج	<u>th</u>		ع	'	
ح	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	<u>gh</u>	
خ	<u>h</u>		ف	f	
د	<u>kh</u>		ك	k	
ذ	d		ل	k	
ر	<u>dh</u>		ل	l	
ز	r		م	m	
س	z		ن	n	
ش	s		ه	h	
ص	<u>sh</u>		و	w	
	<u>z</u>		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

MR. CROWFOOT has now commenced his new excavations on "Ophel," Jerusalem, and hopes that the weather will be propitious so that the work may continue till Christmas. It is proposed at first to follow the ancient Western wall of Zion southwards from the ancient gate which he recovered last season, and to explore the city area adjoining this wall. It is an area still fortunately unbuilt upon, and we confidently hope that fresh and important light may be shed upon the conditions of life and nature in the ancient city. Mr. Crowfoot will have as helpers Mr. Sukenik of the Hebrew University and Mr. Johns, recently on the staff of St. George's College, Jerusalem.

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The possibility of re-opening this work is due to the liberality of Sir Charles Marston, who is contributing again most generously to this new effort. It is to be hoped that others—realizing the importance of the present opportunity—will come forward with donations towards the excavations. The more we have the more we can do in the short time during which excavation is possible. The balance in hand from the general funds will be exhausted in the publication of the forthcoming *Annual*, which will give an exhaustive account of the previous excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley. The volume, which is now going to the press, will, it is hoped, be issued at the end of this year. It will be very fully illustrated.

Sir Charles Marston has further shown his interest in Biblical Archaeology by paying the expenses of Professor Garstang in a preliminary survey of Tell el-Kedah, a site of great importance in Galilee, some four miles from Lake Huleh. Professor Garstang suggested in 1926 that this was probably the site of Hazor. This identification has been described by Dr. Albright as "the most important topographical discovery which has been made for many years." The tell covers an enormous area. It is to be hoped that the preliminary survey will prove that the identification is correct and lead to a complete excavation. It will thus be seen that three British Archaeological expeditions are working at various parts of Palestine at the present time. In the extreme south Professor Sir Flinders Petrie is continuing his exploration at Tell Fura; at Jerusalem Mr. Crowfoot is excavating on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and has only recently been doing so at Jerash on behalf of the Jerusalem School of Archaeology; and now Professor Garstang is engaged on the very important work at Tell el-Kedah. It is gratifying to our national pride that at last the country which has made itself responsible for the political administration of Palestine is waking up to its duties in relation to its ancient culture.

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Among recent discoveries may be mentioned that at Khan el-Ahmar of a remarkable rock-hewn baptistery situated in an almost inaccessible cave. The cave was found by Mr. Michael Marcoff, of the Jerusalem Men's College, who had to climb 60 feet of rock wall, no doubt as the former occupant had to do, when, in the 7th century, the cave was inhabited by hermits. Inside the cave, and hewn in the rock, was the baptistery showing a water-level 3 feet in height, and round the rim were a couple of Syriac inscriptions. The excavations in the neighbourhood of el-Ahmar are under the direction of the Rev. D. J. Chitty, who is working under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology; and an account of the ruins of the church of St. Euthymius is given in this issue.

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Mr. Guy, field director of the work of the University of Chicago on the site of Megiddo, discovered remains of what are taken to be stables. They cover about half an acre and date back to about 1000 B.C. The stalls are arranged in double rows; the horses, twelve in a row, faced each other, and there was a passage between the two



rows for grooms and feeders. In front of each horse was a manger, and the rows of mangers were divided by massive stone hitching-posts which still contain the original holes for the insertion of the halter-shanks. An account of these discoveries, with some admirable slides, was given by Mr. Guy at the recent Orientalist Congress at Oxford, where he pointed out that the architecture of the buildings did not follow the usual native forms, and was probably the work of foreign masons. (See the summary in *The Near East*, September 20, p. 325 sq.) Mr. Guy was tempted to associate these stables with Solomon's activities as a horse-dealer, to which reference is made in 1 Kings x, 28 and 29. This is a passage which, on textual grounds, still perplexes biblical scholars. For, on the one hand, it is questioned whether Egypt carried on any extensive export of horses in Solomon's day, and, on the other, the reference to the "drove" is difficult, and the Greek version suggests a reference to Kuē (Cilicia); and the neighbouring Togarmah in Ezek. xxvii, 14, was a very important horse-breeding district. However, the meaning of the verses is still under discussion.

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We hope to print in the next issue of the *Q.S.* a paper on the Sinaitic inscriptions which Dr. Alan Gardiner presented to the International Oriental Congress at Oxford.

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The results of the work carried on by Sir Flinders Petrie at Beth-Pelet (Tell Fara), and exhibited at University College, excited wide interest. Many of the objects discovered were of singular interest, notably a 30-day bone calendar-board (very similar to that in use among the Bataks of Sumatra), also a silver-dipper, the handle of which was in the form of a swimming-girl, similar to the Egyptian type, though not of Egyptian style. Egyptian, Cypriote and Assyrian influences could be recognized in the pottery and other objects. In one tomb was a bronze couch formed of tubular framing and connected by wooden poles and iron cross-bar. Couches of similar construction appear in Assyrian sculptures, and it is pleasing to suppose that the couch was "doubtless very like that upon which Ahab sulked." An Aramaic inscribed jar was found; it is said to read: "Expenses of the house of Amen-k... Shebaniah to Shebi the Arab, in his hands," apparently a reference to certain household expenses.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt dealing with that Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

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**Subscribers in the United States** are asked to kindly note that subscriptions should be forwarded to the Hon. General Secretary, Prof. W. M. Randall, of 55, Elizabeth Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.

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*Antiques for Sale.*—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates, including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

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The Committee are glad to report that the *Annual*, 1923-25, on the Ophel Excavations has been published and is now on sale. The price is £2 2s. to non-subscribers.

The account is by the excavators, Prof. Macalister, Litt.D., and the Rev. Garro Duncan, M.A., B.D., and consists of four chapters on the Narrative, the Rock Surface, Rock-cuttings and Constructions and Miscellaneous Finds, with an Appendix on Greek Inscriptions stamped upon Jar-handles (pp. 1-212). There are two important maps, an air-photograph of Mount Ophel, 26 plates and 217 illustrations. The maps, which were prepared under the supervision of Sir Charles Close, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.R.S., the Fund's Honorary Treasurer, show the results of all the excavations made upon the Ophel ridge during the last sixty years.

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Mr. H. C. Luke's translation and annotation of a 16th century MS., under the title of *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, is on sale at 4s. bound in cloth, and 2s. 6d. in paper covers.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5s.; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9s. The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size, the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions towards the Ophel excavations from:—

	£	s.	d.
Sir Charles Marston ... ..	500	0	0
Robert L. Mond, Esq. ... ..	10	10	0
Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology ... ..	5	0	0
Arthur Franklin, Esq. ... ..	5	0	0
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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Hartford College, Conn., U.S.A.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

*The Near East*, September 6, 13, 20, 27: The XVIIth Oriental Congress (summaries of many of the papers).

*Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, by H. R. Hall, D.L.H., F.B.A. (Van Oest, Paris and Brussels, 1928.)

*Catalogue of Palestinian Antiquities from Beth-Pelet*, 1928. (British School of Archaeology in Egypt.)

*The Expository Times*, August: Time-measures of the Pentateuch, by Rev. A. T. Richardson.

*Scottish Geographical Museum.*

*Egypt and the Sudan.*

*The New Judaea*, June-July: The Hebrew University.

*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, April.

*The Museum Journal*, June: The 1927 excavations at Beisan, Final Report, by Alan Rowe; Small sculptures from Babylonian tombs, by L. Legrain.

*American Journal of Philology*, No. 194.

*Jewish Quarterly Review.*

*The Geographical Review.* (New York.)

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, June: American culture and Oriental studies, by Julius Morgenstern; Writing upon parchment and papyrus among the Babylonians and the Assyrians, by Raymond P. Dougherty, etc.

*Homiletic Review.*

*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxiii, 6, 7.

*As-Suyuti's "Who's Who" in the 15th Century*: a collection of 200 brief biographies of the most distinguished men and women, collected by As-Suyuti (A.D. 1445-1505); edited by P. K. Hitti, Princeton University. (Arabic, set up on the Linotype, and published by the Syr.-Amer. press of New York.)

*Journal Asiatique*, July-September, 1927.

*Revue Biblique*, July: The third wall of Jerusalem, by R.-P. Vincent; megalithic monuments of Palestine, by R.-P. F. M. Abel; The circuit of Transjordan, by the same; Abraham in the framework of history, by R.-P. P. Dhorme, etc.

*Syria*, ix, 2: The ancient Katna (el-Mishrifeh), by Count du Mesnil du Buisson; The cuneiform tablets from Katna, by Charles Virolleaud; Excavations at Baalbek, by André Parrot; A Palmyrene altar, by Franz Cumont; a new Egyptian stela at Beisan, by Alexis Mallon; The ceramics of the second millennium B.C., by René Dussard; An aerial reconnaissance of the Ledja and of Safa, by P. Poidebard, etc.

*Biblica*, July-September: Darius Medus, by B. Alfrink; The excavations at 'Ain Shems, by A. Mallon.

*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, August-September: Das problem der Herkunft der Semitischen Schrift und die Sinai inschriften, by H. Jensen.

*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, li, 3: The personal names in the Taanek tablets (concluded), by A. Gustavs; Two Christian gravestones from Nerab, by A. Alt; A Hebrew seal of the Babylonian diaspora, by K. Galling.

*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, articles Shiloh, Silver, and Vase (with 7 plates), by Peter Thomsen. (Reprints.)

*Archiv für Orientforschung*, September-December.

*Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques Socialistes*, 1927, Nos. 12-18: Studien zur geschichte der antiken Traumdeutung, by S. Luria.

*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, viii, 2: Animals in Palestinian folklore, by St. H. Stephan; A Jewish Hypogeum near Jerusalem, by E. L. Sukenik; The Babylonian tablets of Nerab, by P. Dhorme.

*La Revue de l'Académie Arabe*; Revue mensuelle paraissant à Damas, 1928, Nos. 5-8.

*Al-Mashrik*, July: The cedar of Lebanon in Solomon's temple, by P. Raphael; The district of Khābur, by Ath.-Ig. Nouri, etc., August-September: Syria and the route to the Indies, by Lammens, etc.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

*The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*

*The Quarterly Statement*, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten*. (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson.

Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath*, already in the Library; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

#### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

## THE CHURCH OF ST. EUTHYMIUS AT KHAN EL-AHMAR, NEAR JERUSALEM.

Preliminary Report, by THE REV. D. J. CHITTY and Mr. A. H. M. JONES, on Excavations in 1928 for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

THE ruins of the monastery of St. Euthymius, now known as Khan el-Ahmar, lie in the Judæan wilderness, about twelve miles from Jerusalem, south of the modern road from Jerusalem to Jericho, and close to the Nebi-Musa pilgrim road. The identification, in spite of the tradition of the orthodox church which places the monastery at Nebi-Musa, is certain, being based on the topographical description in the *Life*.

Excavations were begun on July 10, 1928, and continued for three weeks, thus covering eighteen working days. The head of the expedition was the Rev. D. J. Chitty, formerly scholar of New College; his staff consisted of (1) Mr. A. H. M. Jones, Fellow of All Souls College, who, besides assisting in the supervision, made the plan and drew the marble pavement; (2) Mrs. Jones, who painted copies of the frescoes and mosaics; (3) Mr. Michael Marcoff, who assisted in the supervision during the last fortnight; (4) Madame Marcoff, who managed the catering.

### i. *The Church.*

The church was originally of basilican type; the central of the three aisles, at any rate—which was very wide—must have been roofed in wood. It is built over an undercroft, consisting of three parallel barrel vaults, of which the central vault is the widest. As the *Life* says that under the church was the refectory, and that this had been the older church, the floors of these vaults may be interesting. As it stands now, the upper church consists of nave, narrower than the original, and two aisles, and is of three bays, excluding the sanctuary, which was cleared last year. This year the whole floor has been cleared. The north aisle is ruinous, and the pavement has perished, with the exception of the *prothesis*, which was cleared last year. In the nave the west bay was paved with red cement, the central bay had a coarse mosaic with a simple pattern, and the east bay a very intricately patterned pavement of marble

and coloured stones in virtually perfect preservation. This is very uncommon, as marble is the first thing to be looted. In the south aisle is a continuous range of well-preserved mosaic pavement of a very interesting type, with elaborate geometrical and quasi-arabesque patterns. From the architectural evidence, the excavators are agreed that they must belong to the original church (i.e. to about A.D. 485), and, if so, they are unusually early evidence for the origin of designs which became common in Moslem art. But the maturity of the geometrical design, which comes close to Arab work, and the decadent drawing of the animals, suggest work of the seventh or eighth century. This is the opinion the Director of Antiquities and of Père Savignac, Prior of the Dominicans in Jerusalem.

Over the marble pavement there is evidence of a dome with pendentives in the east bay of the nave. Apparently the rest of the church was also vaulted in ashlar; it is suggested that the other two bays of the nave were covered by cross vaults and the aisles by barrel vaults on a north and south axis; the apses were, of course, covered by semi-domes. This whole system of vaulting with the existing piers and pilasters and the flooring of the nave are later than the original church, and probably date from after the earthquake of A.D. 649, which is said to have destroyed the monastery.

On the piers and pilasters of the south aisle were found remains of frescoes, apparently of the last period of the monastery. They originally consisted of figures of saints with panels of conventional ornament (marbling, suns with rays, etc.) beneath them; two figures, of an ecclesiastic with long robes, and of a warrior with spear and heater-shaped shield, bearing an armorial design, were tolerably preserved.

Features of interest from a liturgical point of view included, besides the three feet of the table of *prothesis*, marked by a cross in the original mosaic flooring, discovered last year, (1) a chamber (later filled with cement) in the back of the altar: this chamber was used as a kind of easter-sepulchre in accordance with the liturgy of St. James, which prevailed in Palestine in the earlier centuries; (2) the sockets of a low stone screen of panels and balusters, dividing the sanctuary from the nave: this was filled with mortar and in parts obliterated by late repairs, thus proving



the supersession of the screen by the high wooden iconostasis. Several balusters of various designs were found, not *in situ* and much damaged; (3) evidence of a solid wall shutting off the *diaconicon* from the south aisle: this wall falls in date between the mosaic floor which runs under it and the frescoes which end at its junction with the wall of the nave.

Various architectural fragments were found, including the plaster tracery of a window, with fragments of glass still in the grooves.

#### ii. *The Court.*

The next operation was the clearance of the space between the north wall of the church and the south wall of the tomb. This revealed a sunk court  $2\frac{1}{2}$  metres below the church floor, paved in coarse unpatterned mosaic, much repaired. At the west end of this court was a large arch, through which it was impossible to work, as its crown had fallen in; to the east was a passage at a yet lower level with doors opening south into the vault under the collapsed north aisle, and north into another vault, partially filled, running north and south to the east of the tomb. There was also another door, filled in, on the east, leading into a vault to which there is no other access and whose existence was previously unknown. Under the court was discovered a large rock-hewn cistern, access to which was by a well head at its eastern end, just east of the arch which formed the eastern termination of the court.

#### iii. *The Tomb of St. Euthymius.*

The tomb consists of a main chamber arranged as a chapel with an altar against the middle of the east wall. On either side of the altar is a door leading to a smaller chamber. One of these chambers was found last year, the other in the course of this year's work. Both had been opened already and robbed. The point of entry at the south end, facing the church, turned out to be a window: the real door, which remains blocked, is at the north end. This should eventually be disengaged from outside, and opened to show the staircase descending to it. The chapel-like arrangement of the tomb is perhaps not original, for the base of the altar covers early fresco. The present pavement of rough slabs of stone and occasionally of marble is also later than the frescoes on the walls. It has been broken irregularly in front of the altar. This breach

not having been explored as yet, there may be an older floor beneath it and also beneath the altar, so there is still hope of finding the tomb untouched. The *Life of St. Euthymius* says that the saint was buried "in the middle," with holy men on either side. But it is hard to see how this could have been, unless the real tomb is under either the altar or the floor in front of it. There were fragments of fallen fresco in abundance; from some large bits, against the middle of the west wall, was pierced together the head of a saint.

iv. *The Vaults under the Church.*

The vaults under the church remain practically unexplored. Below the east end of the north aisle a barrel vault of fine ashlar seems older than the rest. Excavation revealed the head of a door which led into this vault from the east from outside the monastery, and if this were disengaged and opened from without it will be easy to complete the clearance of this vault.

It is especially desirable to clear the chambers which are entered from the church to north and south, and to work round from those on the north to the blocked doorway of the tomb, already described. The outside of the church should also be completely disengaged to expose the abutment and dependent buildings, and especially to ascertain whether there was at the west end any *narthex* or *atrium*.

The small objects found were of no great interest. The pottery was mediaeval Arabic of the usual types; two coins from the court were also Arabic.

The Director of Antiquities has expressed the hope that excavation may be continued, and proposes to fence and protect the site.

*Postscript.*—Mr. Chitty left later with Mr. Michael Marcoff to visit caves with Syriac inscriptions in the same district. In one cave high up on the side of the valley, with rocks overhanging it from above, and making it inaccessible except by a rope, is what seems to be a rock-cut baptistery, entered by descending steps from an apsidal doorway round the lower rim of which is a Syriac inscription, "The voice of the Lord is on the waters," twice repeated, with crosses.

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2. CHURCH OF ST. EUTHYMUS.  
CENTRE-PIECE OF FLOOR UNDER DOME.



1. CHURCH OF ST. EUTHYMUS.  
SPECIMEN OF MOSAIC PATTERN IN SOUTH AISLE.



## WORK AT BETH SHEMESH IN 1928.

By PROF. ELIHU GRANT.

THE Haverford College Archaeological Expedition received a permit from the Department of Antiquities in Jerusalem to excavate on the site of ancient Beth Shemesh (1 Sam. vi, etc.). This place is known to readers of the *Quarterly Statement* and others through the work, in 1911-12, of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie.

Our excavation was begun March 12, 1928, at a point somewhat west of the southernmost point at which Dr. Mackenzie entered the mound. The place may be indicated on F. G. Newton's map (see *P.E.F. Annual* for 1912-13) about half-way from Mackenzie's discovery of the South Gate to that point in the wall outline where the city wall, which has been running northward, begins definitely to swing a little east of north.

We began with a cut four metres wide where the hill slope drops more suddenly to the valley. We ran this trial-trench up to the wall and an equal distance within the city. We reserved the No. I level for the surface, but found no assured signs of occupation later than the Israelite. Less than half a metre under the wheat we came on the simple room-walls of houses of the late Israelite period, small in size, rambling about and over the dismantled city walls into the extra-mural area.

Our first large jar, nearly complete, was standing in place and helped us to decide along with sherds on the date of 700 B.C. for the remains. Very soon we found it advisable to widen our extra-mural dig to right and left, for the sake of securing dumping-ground, and for knowledge of the rock surface without the older city. We were, eventually, to disturb an area of about 3,000 square metres, without and within the city, and employed besides our five Egyptian experts from thirty to seventy fellahin.

We came on a Cyclopean wall of about one and a-half metres width, dating from the Middle Bronze Age and built on the rock. Of smaller circuit was a Late Bronze or Transition Age wall of lesser stones and poorer foundation. Offsets and towers of this inner wall were picked up and contained rooms.

At some time within the Iron Age the defensive walls were dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin, and the late Israelite houses scrambled in mean disarray over them to a new suburb in our sector. We cleaned all this extra-mural ground to the rock, and were rewarded by cave cemeteries containing three great burial groups. The first one found was the latest in date, and includes funereal remains of the Late Bronze and of the Transition Age very gradually introducing features of the Iron Age. Many novelties in design, both shape and colour, rewarded us. Cemetery No. 2 was more distinctly Late Bronze of a greater age. Burial group 3 was clearly Middle Bronze and is actually under the great city wall. It may represent an earlier stage of Middle Bronze than the wall. In all the burial groups, alabaster, bronze, scarabs, and beads of carnelian or paste were found.

These burials were in pits, tunnels, and shafts of the honey-combed rock surface, and groups 1 and 2 proved to connect with each other. The bones were usually much disturbed. The sides and tops of the cave-like holes are made of soft marl, and much destruction had been caused by the falling of this material through the ages. Some of our pottery was encased in the soft stuff as in cement; much was destroyed, but we found a surprising number of whole specimens. Probably every century from 2000 to 700 B.C. is represented by the pottery in the city and in the tombs.

A number of fragments of rope moulding and ledge handle styles indicate even earlier occupation of the site.

Many of the scarabs are of the Hyksos period. The mark of the XVIIIth dynasty also is plainly visible upon our city. Importations from Cyprus are numerous; a few very beautiful whole specimens are now in the Museum at Jerusalem. Five periods at least are being revealed in the stratification and the remains of walls. A Canaanite sanctuary with stone of offerings, and pillar-stones, thrown down, were near the centre of our dig. North of these were remains of two temples of an earlier and later Iron Age with column bases in place. A three-story clay stand or incense-burner was found on the temple site, also the head of an Iron-Age Astarte. In the city three Astarte plaques were found, one the oldest, in excellent condition, showing the full-length nude figure in a framework and with ornamental chains of floral and possibly serpent motive. A fragment of paste shows the Mycenaean goddess, bust and arms, strongly suggestive of the earlier Cretan snake goddess.

I do not think of Beth Shemesh as being inhabited in the main by a succession of races—Canaanite (a general name for three periods at least), Philistine, Hebrew, etc., but rather as conquered by the latter two who were perhaps always a minority, politically dominant, but leaving the race—Canaanite—as before. The culture of the Canaanites was high, the city well-to-do, sensitive to the East Mediterranean and Egyptian life of their days. Officially, and in business, religion, and language, the city changed. Art certainly changed and declined, except as importation of beautiful objects from the Levantine islands supplied the governing caste and provided models for local imitation. But skill, attractiveness, and defence were distinctly lower in the Iron Age than in the Bronze. Egyptian influence, as Egyptian power, waned with the Iron Dynasts and with it the finer spirit of productivity. Commerce, oligarchy, for a few, low standards for the many, prevailed after the great race passed. It, too, may have been a ruling caste, but its influence lasted so long and went so deep that I think of them as more nearly showing the quality of a diffused race and culture.

On the rock-level everywhere run the best house walls of the earliest remaining city, and these by ramification, filling, change and repair give evidence of a settlement more continuous, though evolving, of occupants in somewhat of peaceful succession. The lowest stratum of house structure dissolves into periods as indicated by the various floorings and side-wall repairs. We found Middle and Late Bronze vessels in place in a fine house in our southern corner.

The usual harvest of flints, small stone objects, mills, rubbers, abrasives, weights, jewellery, pins, needles, spear-heads, arrows, bowls and amulets was found scattered through the debris, and representatives of many of these were found in the tombs. The least disturbed of the burials showed skeletons lying on the side in crowded (embryonic?) position, faces to the south. Altogether we are rather encouraged to seek to continue the exploration of Beth Shemesh until we shall know it more thoroughly.

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## EXCAVATION OF A PALAEOLITHIC CAVE IN WESTERN JUDAEA.

By DOROTHY A. E. GARROD.

THE cave of Shukbah lies among the Judæan hills  $17\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-west of Jerusalem, and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-east of Ramleh. It was discovered, in 1924, by Père Alexis Mallon, S.J., who made soundings and collected a number of flint implements. He published his notes in the *Mélanges de l'Université de St. Joseph* in 1925. Thanks to the generosity of Père Mallon in waiving his rights as discoverer, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem was able to carry out work in the cave from April till the middle of June of the present year. I was assisted during this time by Mr. and Mrs. George Woodbury, of the American School of Prehistoric Research. As in the case of the Galilee caves, this excavation was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Robert Mond.

The cave, which is a very large one, lies on the northern side of the Wadi en-Natouf, 22 metres above the floor of the valley. It has an immense vault, rising to a height of 22 metres above the surface of the floor deposits, and pierced, at the top, by two large holes.

The excavations showed three archaeological levels, A, B, and D, counting from above downwards :—

Layer A (80 cm.—3 metres thick).—This layer consisted mainly of angular fragments of limestone, and contained quite modern objects near its surface. The pottery, which was identified by Père Vincent, O.P., ranged from Early Bronze Age to Byzantine, but the majority of the sherds could be dated as of Early Bronze Age (2500–2000 B.C.), their number pointing, in Père Vincent's opinion, to an occupation of at least 200 years.

Layer B (50 cm.— $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres thick).—A layer of black hearths containing a very abundant microlithic industry and animal remains. Eleven burials were found in this layer, of which seven at least had every appearance of being contemporary with the microlithic hearths. In addition a large number of broken human bones were scattered throughout the deposit.

The characteristic forms of the flint industry of layer B were small crescentic knives, of the type common in the Tardenoisian,



small *dos rabattu* points, borers and pygmy cores, often re-utilized as scrapers. There were also a number of carefully made bone points (many of them cut from the metatarsal or metacarpal bones of a small ruminant, with the articular surface left untouched as a handle); a few rather coarse bone needles, one of which had the eye at its point, and a fragment of a bone plaque decorated with groups of parallel incisions engraved obliquely along its edges.

Some fragments of pottery were found, but as these range from Early Bronze Age to Byzantine, and as a number of holes of burrowing animals ran through the deposit, it seemed certain that the sherds had been introduced from above.

The industry of layer B greatly resembles the very late Capsian of the kitchen-middens of North Africa; and unless next season's excavations yield pottery certainly contemporary with the deposit, it will, I think, be safe to classify it as a mesolithic industry of Capsian affinities.

Layer C (on the east side of the cave only) is redeposited from D as described below.

Layer D (20 cm.-2.5 m.).—A limestone breccia, in places as hard as rock, in others merely very tough. It contains large quantities of animal bones and flints, many of them concentrated in well-marked hearths.

The flint industry is Upper Mousterian, but differs markedly from the industries of the same stage in Western Europe in the greater variety of its forms and in its more delicate technique, which approaches that of the Upper Palaeolithic. A series of eight gravers is particularly striking, since it contains forms which, if found alone, would undoubtedly be classified as Aurignacian. When I showed some of the Shukbah implements to Abbé Breuil he did not hesitate to describe them as Aurignacio-Mousterians.

An exceptionally large human molar-tooth, and a fragment of skull bearing a portion of the glenoid fossa, were found lying upon the rock at the base of the breccia, at a point where it was extremely hard throughout. Both these conformed to the Neanderthal type.

Some other human bones also were found in the breccia, but, as they belong to a Neoanthropic type of man, the question arises whether they can possibly be in place. As they were found in an area in which the breccia was not very hard, and where it had

been deeply ravined by the overlying microlithic hearths, the possibility of introduction from above is not completely excluded. It would be unwise, therefore, at present to base any revolutionary theories upon their presence in a Mousterian level, even though the industry of that level has mixed characters. I hope that next season's excavations may throw light on this question.

A word of explanation is necessary as to the general disposition of the different layers in the cave, which is very complicated.

Immediately under the hole in the vault there is a deep pit in the floor of the cave, which pit is filled, to a depth of 3 metres, by the microlithic hearths of layer B. Below this occurs a tough grey clay containing implements derived from both B and D. The east and west walls of the pit have been partially uncovered, but we do not yet know how far it extends to the north and south, nor how deep it may be. On the west side of the pit the Mousterian breccia rose almost vertically, to form a hummock with a maximum height of 2.50 metres. Farther to the north there was a similar hummock, rising to a height of 3 metres, but elsewhere the surface of the breccia was extremely uneven, and it was rarely more than 75 cm. thick. Immediately behind the hummock on the west wall of the pit it was eroded right down to the rock floor, and the hollow was filled by the hearths of layer B.

It was clear that the Mousterian layer had originally been very much thicker than it is to-day, for lumps of breccia, containing bones and implements of that period, were found adhering to the walls of the cave 2 metres above the level of the floor before excavation. It is probable that the erosion which removed the upper part of the breccia, and which cut channels in its surface, was due to a long pluvial period, during which torrential rains entered the cave through the hole in its roof. Further evidence of this pluvial period was found on the east side of the cave, where there was a layer (C) formed by the re-deposition of a part of D. It was made up of a tough red clay containing heavily rolled Mousterian implements.

I want, in conclusion, to say a few words about the significance of the somewhat abnormal Mousterian industry discovered at Shukbah. To begin with, this is not an isolated case. I was able to assure myself, by examining the collections in the Palestine Museum, that the Upper Mousterian industry of Zuttiyeh, which differs from that of Shukbah by the presence of a large number of

hand-axes, contained a small number of definite Upper Palaeolithic forms. I may note, in parenthesis, that Mr. Turville Petre has already stated that Mousterian and Upper Palaeolithic forms were found together in the Emireh cave, close to Zuttiyeh, but I do not think that this can be considered to be a homogeneous culture. The Upper Palaeolithic forms are small and very advanced, and are in striking contrast to the Mousterian; whereas at Zuttiyeh and at Shukbah the Mousterian and Aurignacian implements do not differ in size, and the two groups are connected with each other by a whole series of intermediate forms. In view of the fact that the greater part of the deposit in Emireh is very much disturbed, I am inclined to think that there had been disturbance, possibly in prehistoric times, in the terrace also, and that the association of the two industries was accidental.

In seeking for parallels to the Aurignacio-Mousterian of Palestine, the first comparison which suggests itself is with the Abri Audi level of Western Europe. Yet I do not think that the two are really comparable. At the Abri Audi both the Mousterian and Aurignacian forms are exceedingly crude. The fine period of the Upper Mousterian is past, and this degenerate industry, modified by a crude imitation of Upper Palaeolithic forms, is a lingering survival of the Middle Palaeolithic, only very faintly influenced by a first contact with the Aurignacian. In Palestine, on the contrary, the Upper Palaeolithic forms, although they belong to an early phase, are already quite typical, and are associated with a very beautiful Mousterian industry, which shows no signs of degeneration. I think, therefore, that we are justified in concluding that we are here dealing with an earlier and much more intimate contact between the two industries than that represented by the Abri Audi; and the inference which I would draw is that in Palestine we are much nearer to the centre of dispersion of the Upper Palaeolithic. But whether that centre of dispersion will prove, ultimately, to be situated in North Africa or in Asia is a question which cannot yet be answered.

The greater part of the cave of Shukbah still remains to be excavated, and a thick Mousterian hearth, which lies across the entrance, appears particularly promising. The British School of Archaeology hopes to continue the work next season, in collaboration with the American School of Prehistoric Research.

## SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM JERASH.

By A. H. M. JONES, B.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

MR. CROWFOOT has asked me to carry on the work, which Professor Garstang had entrusted to him, of reading the new inscriptions of Jerash. He had already begun the work, and I owe an acknowledgment to him, and to Mr. Fitzgerald who assisted him, for allowing me to take over the fruit of their labours.

I have the following corrections and amplifications of older readings to offer :—

I.—A small altar or basis (total height 46 cm., inscribed face 20 cm. high by 48 cm. wide) built into a house in the Circassian village, on the east side of the street running south from the Suk. The words ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ on the cornice are finely cut; the style of the letters suggests the 1st or 2nd century; the remainder of the inscription is irregularly scratched on the rough surface left after the erasure of the older inscription to which the heading belongs. This circumstance explains the occurrence of the pagan invocation, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, on what must from its date be a Christian inscription. My reading is as follows :—

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΦ ΓΑΡΠΙΕΟΥ  
Κ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣΙΝΔΙΚ  
Ο ΠΥΡΓΟΣΑΝΕΝΕΩ  
ΘΗΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ

“ In the year 504, in the month Gorpiaeus and the tenth indiction, the tower was restored from its foundations.”

The reading published by Père Germer Durand in *Revue Biblique* (1899) gives ἐνδεκάτης for κ(αὶ) δεκάτης. Now the year 504 of the Pompeian era, the era normally used in Gerasa, runs from October, 441, to October, 442, and the tenth and eleventh indictions run from September 1, 441, to September 1, 442, and from September 1, 442, to September 1, 443, respectively. As Gorpiaeus covers the latter part of August and the beginning of September in the Arabian calendar, it will be seen that either indiction is possible chronologically.

II.—A cylindrical cippus (diameter 46 cm., height, so far as exposed, 90 cm. including the upper moulding, and 60 cm. excluding it) built into a Circassian house near the Serai. The cutting of the letters is rather shallow, and the upper lines, with the ends of all the lines, are somewhat obscure. My reading runs:—

ΚΡΙΣΠΙΝΑΝ

ΣΥΜΒΙΟΝ ΚΑΝΤΙΣ

ΤΙΟΥ ΑΔΟΥΕΝΤΟΥ

ΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΗΠΟΛΙΣ

ΔΙΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΟΥ

ΗΛΙΟΥΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΑΙΒΟΗΘΩΝ

“Crispina, wife of Quintus Antistius Adventus, consul, dedicated by the city, through the agency of Elias Eumenes and his assistants.”

The inscription was first published by Père Germer Durand in *Revue Biblique* (1899). There are many variant readings of the last two lines, largely due to Père Germer Durand himself. They agree in reading ΑΙΛΙΟΥ for ΗΛΙΟΥ, and Ο for C at the end of the sixth line; ΒΟΗΘΟΥ is sometimes substituted for ΒΟΗΘΩΝ, and Père Germer Durand finally decided on ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΥ instead of ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ. These readings are all motivated by the difficulty of accommodating the singular ἐπιμελητοῦ with the plurality of personages which follow. The solution attempted is to make Boethos or Boethon a third name of Aelius Eumenes or Eugenius, introduced by the common ὁ καὶ; unfortunately, as Aelius is in the genitive, ὁ καὶ should be τοῦ καὶ, and the solution thus lands us in a greater grammatical difficulty than the original problem. There seems no great difficulty in the reading which I have given, as a result of a study of the actual stone; ἐπιμελητοῦ agrees with the proper name with which it is in close connection, and ignores the nameless assistants.

ΗΛΙΟΥ and not ΑΙΛΙΟΥ is certainly right. ΗΛΙΟΥ is almost certainly not a misspelling of ΑΙΛΙΟΥ, as the substitution of η for α is unknown, except in the special case of καὶ. It is probably a native name; the genitive of what is probably the same name occurs in two different forms—ΗΛΙΟΥ and ΗΛΙΑ—in two 5th or 6th century inscriptions of Jerash (Lucas, Nos. 23 and 24, in *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Palaestinaverains*, 1901), and we may perhaps conclude that the nominative was Elias. The two

names are thus not the nomen and cognomen of a Roman citizen, but the native and Greek name of a Hellenized Arab.

III.—In inscription No. 3, published by Père Abel in *Revue Biblique* (1927), it is possible to supply with tolerable certainty the proper name preceding ΜΑΛΧΟΥ. Above the letters ΩΜΕΝ in the line below are the lower parts of a lambda, an eta and a pi. The only names which would embody these letters and fulfil the requirements of the space are Ἀσκληπιόδωρος, Ἀσκληπιόδοτος, or Ἀσκληπιόδωτος.

IV.—In inscription No. 7, published by Père Abel in *Revue Biblique* (1927), the reading is incomplete. The second line runs ΠΡΟC ΠΡΟVINC ΑR, that is, "procuratori provinciae Arabiae."

V.—In inscription No. 2, published by Père Abel in *Revue Biblique* (1927), there are several errors and omissions:—

(1) The stone gives (see Photo No. 1) ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΤΟ Γ, which is correct, and not ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΤΟ Ι, which Père Abel reads and is at pains to justify by quoting similar mistakes.

(2) The words ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΟC ΤΟΥ Χ (ρονου) are cut, in a rather sprawling fashion, over an erasure. They are obvious padding; what objectionable matter they can have replaced is hard to conjecture in an inscription of Hadrian's reign.

(3) For ΠΡΟΝΟΟΥΝΤΟC should be read ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΟC. This is difficult to understand. The agonothetes was not, as far as we know, the eponymous magistrate of Gerasa; it appears, on the contrary, from an inscription published below (see p. 193) and from another now lost (*I.G.R.R.*, vol. iii, 1376), that the πρόεδρος was the official who gave his name to the year. It is not even certain that the agonothetes was an annual official and was not appointed for each festival ad hoc. This being so, the decree must have been passed at some festival and have special reference to it, and in this case the restoration ἀγορανόμους or ἀγορανομεῖον is improbable.

VI.—In inscription No. 6, published by Père Abel in *Revue Biblique* (1927), the suggestion κελεύο'τος or κελεύσαντος is impossible, as the stone gives ΚΕΛΕΑ. These letters presumably form part of a name.

The restoration ΘΕΟΝΠΟ[ΛΕΩΣ] seems unnatural: ΠΟΠΛΙΟΝ (the praenomen of the Emperor Pertinax) seems more probable. If Julius S... is a Roman governor, and not merely the ἐπιμελητής or one of the ἐπιμεληταί who usually figure on this type of inscription, he is more likely to be Julius Saturninus than Julius Severus, as suggested by Père Abel. The latter was in Palestine under Marcus Aurelius (Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, pp. 300 and 315). The former was in Syria in the tenth year of an erased emperor (*I.G.R.R.*, vol. iii, 1277), who must be Commodus, not, as Waddington suggested, Alexander Severus, since an inscription referring to the same Saturninus has been found at Kanawât (*I.G.R.R.*, vol. iii, 1230), which was a part of Syria under Commodus, but not under Alexander Severus.

VII.—A rectangular block (48 cm. high by 62 cm. wide), built into a garden wall near the stream where it emerges from the town. The stone is very badly decayed, and the letters, though deeply cut, illegible towards the bottom. They vary from 7 cm. to 5 cm. in height; their spacing is also very variable.

ΑΒΗΤΥΧΗ

ΡΕΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ

ΕΤ  ΛΕ

ΔΑΣΑ  ΔΡΟΝΕ

ΑΓ  ΔΙΟC

ΓΕ  Δ 

ΜΟ  ΛΕ 

ἀν[ι]αθῆ τύχη. [ὑπὲρ] ρ σωτηρίας [σεβ]άστ[ων] or ον] Λε[ωνι]δας  
 Ἀ[ν]δρονέ[ικου] ἀν[ι]αλμα Διός . . . . .

"To Good Fortune; on behalf of the safety of the emperor(s) Leonidas (son) of Andronicus (dedicated) a statue of Zeus . . . . ."

What is apparently the same stone was published by Lucas in *M.D.P.V.*, 1901, No. 59, from a sketch by Schumacher.

VIII.—A number of short inscriptions on columns have already been published in various places. I have checked these as far as

I could trace them and added a few more to the list. This may be a convenient place for discussing the whole series.

1. Μακε | δόνων. (*Revue Biblique*, 1895, No. 7.)

This is said to occur on a column "du marché." I was unable to trace it, but the squeeze shows it to have been beautifully cut in a style suggesting the latter half of the 2nd century. Macedonian names occur in the inscriptions, and it may be that certain families who prided themselves on their descent from the original colonists formed an exclusive club. This inscription would then record either a gift of the club or its property.

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|------------------------------------|--|
| 2. Δημητρίανος   ἐπλήρωσεν         | } ( <i>Revue Biblique</i> , 1895,<br>Nos. 15, 16, 17.) |
| 3. Σαβεῖνος Στρατηγίου   ἐπλήρωσεν |  |
| 4. Ἐρμόλαος Δημη   τρίου ἐπλήρωσεν |  |

These three inscriptions occur on three adjacent columns of the "forum" at the southern end of the eastern range. The character of the letters suggests a date in the 5th or 6th century. If this date is correct, it throws an interesting light on the history of Gerasa; for it would prove that the "forum" was erected at this period, these columns not being repairs but an integral part of the structure, and that the city must, therefore, have had a great revival of prosperity in the early Byzantine period. Other inscriptions recording the repair of the fortifications and the erection of a "maioumas," a colonnade, and various churches at this period point to the same conclusion. The force of ἐπλήρωσεν is not clear; it may mean "fulfilled his vow," as Lucas (*M.D.P.V.*, 1900) suggests, or merely "completed the work." In either case it records the gift of a column by a munificent donor.

5. Ἐμμεγάνης. (*Princeton Expedition, Syria*, iii, A, 14.)

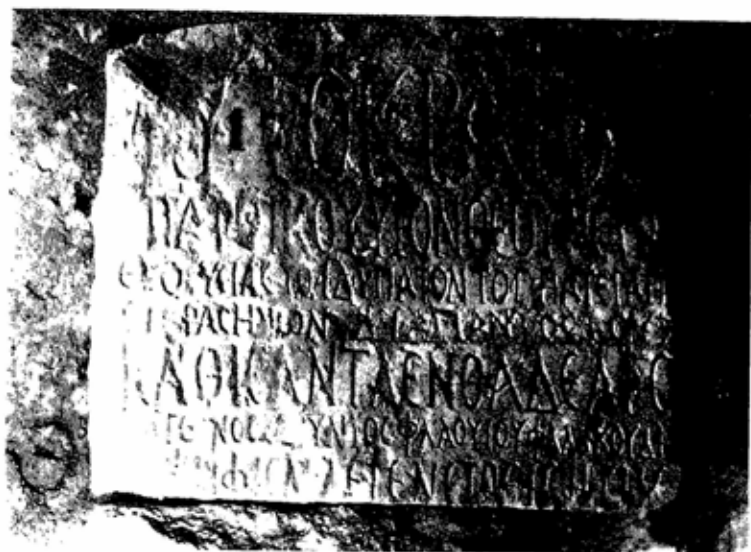
This is merely a graffito, scratched vertically (from bottom to top) on one of the columns of the temple of Artemus.

6. Ζαβδίων | Ἐνγαννας. (Unpublished.)

This is also probably merely a graffito. It is roughly cut on one of the columns of the Nymphaeum.

7. On each of the two central columns of the pronaos of the temple of Artemis, facing east, is painted, in red, a wreath, formerly containing an inscription. In the

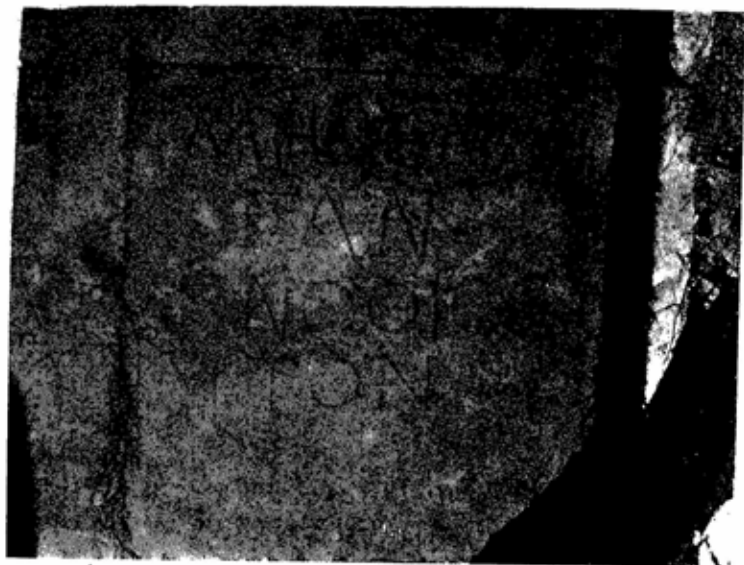




1. JERASH INSCRIPTION, No. V.



2. ST. THEODORE, No. I.



3. ST. THEODORE, NO. III.



4. ST. THEODORE, NO. XI.

southern of the two the terminations of two lines are still legible—

ICI  
WNTA (Unpublished.)

The style of the lettering is late ; perhaps the inscriptions recorded the dedication of the temple as a church.

8. κερα | μέων. (*M.D.P.V.*, 1901, No. 47.)
9. ἀγορέω[ν]. (*Revue Biblique*, 1895, No. 13.)
10. ἀγορ. (Unpublished.)
11. βοή | θου | μ. (*Revue Biblique*, 1895, No. 12.)

These occur on the row of columns on the west side of the street running south from the south tetrapylon. They are very roughly and irregularly cut ; though their subject-matter makes it clear that they are not graffiti, yet they cannot, from their roughness, be records of dedications. They may then be in the nature either of shop signs or of mason's marks ; they may indicate the person or body who plied their trade under the column, or the person or body who were responsible for the erection of the column. On the former supposition, the potters (κεραμεῖς) and retail dealers (ἀγορεω[ν] by a common misspelling standing for ἀγοραῖων ; for the αγοραῖοι, see *I.G.R.R.*, vol. iv, 336) would have very cramped quarters, even if they had two columns each. Perhaps it is more likely that upon these guilds was imposed the responsibility of completing a certain section of colonnade. The date of the erection of this portion of the street is fixed by two inscriptions (Lucas, *M.D.P.V.*, 1901, Nos. 23 and 24), on a column and on the architrave of the opposite colonnade, to the 5th or 6th century, when such a system of liturgies might well have been in use.

- |                         |   |                                |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 12. στρα   ελπ          | } | (Unpublished.)                 |
| 13. [γ]ρηγ   ευβ        |   |                                |
| 14. γρηγ   ευβ          |   |                                |
| 15. πανλ   αδρι         | } | (Revue Biblique, 1895, No. 8.) |
| 16. πανλ   αδρι         |   |                                |
| 17. ταρσικ   καιησν   χ | } | (Revue Biblique, 1895, No. 9.) |
| 18. ταρσικ   καιησνχ    |   |                                |

- |                              |   |                                 |
|------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| 19. ουαλ   θεοδ              | } | (Revue Biblique, 1895, No. 10.) |
| 20. ουαλη   θεοδ             |   |                                 |
| 21. στρατη   στρατη   ρι     | } | (Unpublished.)                  |
| 22. στρατη   στρατη[ρι]   ου |   |                                 |
| 23. αυξο   . . . . .         |   |                                 |

These letters are roughly cut on the columns on the west side of the street north of the south tetrapylon. They occur, it will be noted, in doublets. Each inscription consists of two abbreviated names, most of which can be easily completed—Strategius, Elpidius, Gregorius, Eubulus, Paulus, Hadrianus, Hesychius, Valens, Theodorus; what *ταρικ* and *αυξο* stand for is less obvious. It is not in all cases clear whether the names represent two persons or are the name and patronymic of one person. Where *και* is inserted, as in Nos. 17 and 18, it is clearly two persons; where the two names are identical, as in Nos. 21 and 22, it seems more likely that one is the patronymic.

The same doubt arises here as to the significance of the names; but here it is more easily resolved. This section of the colonnaded street seems to date from the classical epoch of the town, the 2nd century; the columns are finely proportioned, resembling those of the major monuments and in marked contrast to those of the section of street south of the tetrapylon. The particular columns in question, however, show every sign of being a careless reconstruction; the drums are often upside-down and out of order and badly set. In these inscriptions, then, we probably have a record of a late reconstruction, probably after an earthquake, and the names are those of the contractors, or more probably of the rich citizens (*curiales*) who were made responsible for the work. This conclusion confirms the similar supposition about the group of inscriptions Nos. 8-11.

In the course of the excavations at St. Theodore the following inscriptions were found:—

I.—Two blocks, in the west door, completing the dedicatory inscription of the church. The rest is published in Lucas' corpus, No. 30 (*M.D.P.V.*, 1901). It is notable that not one of the various conjectures there recorded is verified (*see* No. 2).

+ ΑΧΡΑΝΤΟ[Ε]  
 ΚΑΙΤΕΡΜΑCΙΝ  
 ΑΛΕΞΙΚΑΚ[ΟΝ]  
 ΤΟΑΓΙ[ΟΝΜΑ]

II.—A column drum (1·50 m. high and 60 cm. in diameter) found on the east side of the atrium (not *in situ*). The letters are on an average 6 cm. high and are irregularly cut. The **Μ** and **Ω** are very badly formed, and the **Ξ** is extraordinary. The inscription cannot be earlier than the 3rd century, but beyond that it is difficult to date so slipshod a piece of work.

ΑΓΛΘ  
ΗΤΥΧΗ  
ΑΦΙΕΡΩ  
ΘΗΗΣΤΟ  
ΟΥΑ  
ΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ  
ΕΠΙΣΥ Μ ΜΑ  
ΧΟΥΠΡΟΕ  
ΔΡΟΥ

*ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἀφιερώθη ἡ στόνα ἐξ ἰδίων ἐπὶ*

*Συμμάχου προέδρου*

“To Good Fortune. The colonnade was dedicated in the presidency of Symmachus at his private expense.”

The inscription does not in all probability refer to the atrium of St. Theodore, but to the secular colonnade which was plundered to provide the materials for it. The use of the pagan formula *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*, and the absence of any Christian symbol, strongly suggest this conclusion. I can find no parallel to the extraordinary spelling of *στόα*.

III.—On the left jamb of the southernmost of the three doors of the church east of the fountain court (see No. 3)—

ΜΗΔΕΝΑ  
ΓΑΝ  
ΓΝΩΘΙΣΕ  
ΑΥΤΟΝ

*μηδὲν ἄγαν . γινῶθι σεαυτόν.*

“Nothing in excess ; know thyself.”

The letters are 5·5 cm. high and neatly cut in a rather ornamental style ; they suggest the 1st or 2nd century. The delta of *μηθέν* is a correction for an original theta ; the colloquial *μηθέν* had slipped into a classical quotation and was duly altered. The block on which the text is carved is an integral part of the moulded door jamb, and has, as the double set of mason's marks proves, been twice re-used ; neither set bears any reference to the present order of the blocks. Was one of the two buildings to which it belonged before becoming part of the church a philosophical school ?

IV.—A rectangular block (43 cm. high by 37 cm. broad) carved a cross with limbs of equal length in relief. Between the limbs of the cross, very roughly cut—

TOU ΤΩ  
NI ΚΑ

The formula generally runs *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*.

V.—On a block (75 cm. high by 52 cm. broad) built into the north wall of St. Theodore's church, on the outside, east of the central northern door. The execution of the inscription is beautiful—

ΕΤΗCΕΝΕΚΑ

[ἀρ]ετῆς ἐνεκα.

The words are presumably the termination of a honorific inscription.

VI.—On a much broken fragment found in the north aisle of St. Theodore's. The letters are 2 cm. high and neatly cut in an early style. Their date might be the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century.

... ΟΜΗΣΕΝΑΠ ... ΚΡΑΤ ...

... ΥΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩ ...

ΕΥΧΗΝ

[ὤκοδ]όμησεν Ἀπ[ι?]κρατ[

]ν ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ω]ν[

[κατ'] εὐχῆν

The inscription is the record of the erection of some building at the private expense of some donor, whose name cannot be restored, in fulfilment of a vow. Iota is the only letter which is small enough to fit in between the pi and the kappa, but Apicrates sounds odd. The upsilon of the second line is probably the end of the patronymic.

VII.—On a block (58 cm. high by 85 cm. broad) built into the east wall of the eastern church. The letters are 7 cm. high and well cut, though crowded. Two ligatures are used.

ΣΕΒΑΣΤ  
ΔΙΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΟΥ  
ΝΟΣΤΟΥΚΑΙ  
ΡΩΝΟΣ

[ὕτ'ερ τῆς τῶν (οὔ τοῦ)] σεβάσ[των (or . ου) σωτηρίας  
ἡ πόλις] εἰ ἐπιμελητοῦ [...] νος τοῦ καὶ [...] ρωνος

The inscription is one of a common type—the dedication of an object on behalf of the emperor(s) by the city through the agency of some citizen. Not enough remains of the names to restore them, but one may conjecture that the first was native—*Μαλχίωνος* or *Ζαβδιωνος*, or something of the sort, and the second the Greek name—'Αλκίφρωνος, for instance—that he had adopted.

Beyond the end of the inscription can be detected the letters *ωνος* lightly chiselled; in the preliminary blocking out the artist had been more generous of space than the final version. It is worthy of note that the letters used in this blocking out are of a different form, a round omega (Ω) being employed.

VIII.—Two strips of marble, 6 cm. wide and 3 cm. thick; one is 40 cm. long, the other 30 cm. They were found in the fountain court of St. Theodore's. Each is inscribed with the lower and upper portions of two lines, neatly carved—

(a)     ΖΩΟΥΟΥΙΖ  
         ΤΑΝΗΤΕΠΟΛΗΩΝ

(b)     ΩΥΠΙΕΔΕ2ΑΟΙ  
         ΟΤΕΡΗΝΕΤΕΙ

(a)                    .. ξακόροις  
                         ... ταν ἦτε πολήων

(b)                    ... ω ὑπεδέξαθ' (or ὑπεδέξαο) ...  
                         .. στέρην . ἔτει ...

The fragments are evidently parts of an elegiac poem couched in epic language, ending with a date; presumably an epitaph.

IX.—Painted in red on two strips of marble, 7 cm. wide and 5 cm. thick; one strip is 36 cm. long, the other 26 cm. The style of the lettering is Byzantine. They were found at the west end of the church, east of the fountain court.

(a) + ΙϸϷ  
(b) ΤΑΤΘΙΑΑ

(a) + Ιωάννης  
(b) . . . τάτου Ιλα (or Ιλλ)

The first evidently bears the name John, the second another name—perhaps Hilarion—prefixed by a superlative epithet, such as, perhaps, ὁσιωτάτου.

X.—The threshold of the easternmost of the three north doors of St. Theodore's consists of a slice cut out of a cylindrical cippus. On the inner face (originally covered by the paving of the church) can be seen a few letters of the inscription, which was in Latin. The upper line of letters is 10 cm. high, the lower 4·5 cm.:

ΑΙΛ  
6  
T]raia[nus  
C

XI.—The top of a small altar, found in the nave of St. Theodore's. The letters are about 2 cm. high, badly cut:

ΑΓΑΘΗ  
Υ Η  
ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ]  
ὕ[περ σωτ]η[ρίας]

XII.—The base of a small column, found in the nave of St. Theodore's. The base has been cut out of an inscribed altar or basis. The letters are about 2 cm. high, roughly cut (see No. 4):

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ  
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
[ὕ]περ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν  
[σε βασιλεὺς σωτηρίας]



XIII.—Fragment of marble slab (1.5 cm. thick) from outside St. Theodore's (south side). The letters are 2.5 cm. high :

ΩΗΚ,

ΦΩCΚ

*ωηκα* (or λ)

*φωσκ*

XIV.—Fragment of marble slab (1.5 cm. thick) from North Chapel of St. Theodore. The letters are 2.5 cm. high :

Λ

ΤΟ

ΗΛ

Ξ (?)

*το*

*ηλ*

## TWO RECENT CONGRESSES.

By STANLEY A. COOK, Litt.D.

THE *Quarterly Statement* has previously drawn the attention of its readers to two important Congresses, namely, the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, at Oslo, August 13-18, and the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists, at Oxford, August 27-September 1. The present writer was a representative of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem at the former, and of the Palestine Exploration Fund at the latter, and a few notes may be of interest.

Both Congresses were exceptionally well attended. Their strictly international character was fully maintained, and it would be difficult to overestimate the amount of good that these meetings achieved in bringing together representatives of different countries unhappily separated during the Great War. The people of Norway, and the City of Oslo in particular, rose to the occasion, and did all that lay in their power to make their Congress a notable success; and at the later Congress, Oxford in turn not only charmed her visitors by her hospitality, but brought them together and broke down all national partitions and cemented afresh old-time bonds.

Palestinian and Biblical subjects were well represented, especially at Oxford. At Oslo, the Oriental and Biblical sections were relatively weak, but there were papers on Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite and Israelite laws, on animism, on Israelite sacrifice, on the cults of the Magna Mater and Mithra, on Judaism and Oriental syncretism in the Persian epoch, on problems of the Jewish apocalyptic literature, on the Semitic character of primitive Christianity, etc. The interrelations of East and West in the Middle Ages also came up for treatment, and although most of the papers were rather specialistic and outside the scope of the B.S.A.J. and the P.E.F., there was much that was important for historical method (e.g. papers on the value of ancient tradition and legend), and for broad views of the stream of history. Palestine and the Bible were set in the light of history, religion, law and economic development; and although the scattered papers as a whole do not permit any comprehensive statement of the general fruits of the Congress, it is impossible not to recognize how the horizon of the student of Palestine and the

Bible is widened when, as at this Congress, so broad and catholic a view is taken of the subjects which, until recently, were treated in isolation from the rest of knowledge. A volume of *Résumés des Communications Présentées au Congrès* was already in print and placed in the hands of those attending the Congress, and to it we must refer readers for summaries of the numerous papers (nearly 250 in number!) which competed for the audience of the thousand or so members of the Congress.

The Congress of Orientalists, wide though its scope was—for it included India, China and Japan—naturally had more to offer us in our field.<sup>1</sup> Assyriology and Egyptology were particularly strong, and the Hebrew and Aramaic section offered a good selection of subjects from “the language of the Pentateuch and its relation to the Egyptian language and thought” to the signification of “Selah,” from “the shepherd’s two rods in modern Palestine and in some passages of the Old Testament” to “the Gates of Righteousness.” Throughout the Congress, among the more than 200 papers, archaeology was to the fore, and especially the archaeology of the Bible Lands. It must suffice to give a bare list; the excavations of Ur (Mr. C. L. Woolley), three distant contacts with ancient Ur (Prof. W. B. Stevenson), the Pre-Armenian Khaldian antiquities in the British Museum (Prof. Lehmann-Haupt); excavations near Kirkuk (Prof. Chiera), the Kirkuk tablets (Dr. Speiser), the excavation of Jemdel Nasr (Prof. Langdon). Coming nearer home we have: the location of Sinai (Dr. Nielsen), the Sinai script and the origin of the alphabet (Dr. Gardiner),<sup>2</sup> prehistoric remains around Jerusalem (Rev. Mallon), archaeological work in Transjordan (Mr. G. Horsfield), excavations at Jerash (Mr. Crowfoot), excavations at Megiddo (Mr. Guy), the Hebrew conquest of Canaan in the light of Palestinian archaeology (Prof. Albright), accuracy of circumstantial detail in the Old Testament historical narrative (Rev. J. G. Duncan). Needless to say, most opportune of all was a paper by Dr. H. R. Hall on the publication of archaeological material, with practical suggestions for the prompt publication and at a moderate price of important archaeological discoveries.

Ancient Oriental (Semitic) law formed the subject of several papers, and Prof. Zimmern spoke on Babylonian Prophecy. But

<sup>1</sup> Good reports have appeared in *The Near East*, for September.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Gardiner’s paper will be printed in the next issue of the *Q.S.*

the predominance of archaeology and the monuments and the attention paid to the "external" evidence were as symptomatic here as at the Historical Congress. It is interesting to see how the opinion prevails that, as regards Biblical study, the future lies with the external and more or less contemporary material rather than with the more restricted intensive study of the Bible record itself. There were, of course, papers on purely Biblical subjects, *e.g.* the reform of Josiah (Prof. Coppens), the refutation of the theory of a Deutero-Isaiah (Prof. Kaminka), the story of Eden in the history of religion (Rev. Vaccari), etc. ; but there is an increasing conviction that the more intricate and more vital Biblical problems can be solved only by closer attention to archaeology.

It did indeed come out in the course of discussion and conversation that the *obiter dicta* of Archaeology, like the *obiter dicta* of "Higher Criticism," were not to be taken at their face value. It was admitted that the material of archaeology must be interpreted soberly and competently, and that the greatest caution must be taken in presenting and explaining archaeological results. But over and above all this was the fact that modern research is very powerfully affecting all our inherited and preconceived ideas of the past, and that the need for continued archaeological research by trained and competent workers was an urgent one.

The need for the study of Comparative Religion is not less urgent ; indeed, it goes without saying that much archaeological material can be interpreted only in the light of the comparative study of ancient or primitive religion. Archaeology, the monuments and comparative religion are tools in the hand of the student of Ancient History and the Bible, and although the recent Congresses were not immediately concerned with Religion,<sup>1</sup> the modern scientific study of religious beliefs and institutions lay behind many of the papers, *e.g.* the fear of the gods as a factor in the development of ancient Law (Prof. Bruck, at Oslo), Semitic conceptions of the gods and Semitic divine names (Prof. Eissfeldt, at Oxford).

As the present writer offered papers at these Congresses on subjects wherein external evidence and comparative religion were used to illuminate ancient Palestine, and as these papers will not be

<sup>1</sup> The Fifth International Congress for the History of Religions, it is announced, will be held at Lund, Sweden, in August, 1929.

reprinted, it may be permissible to summarize briefly their main points.

The paper read at the Historical Congress was on Iranian or Aryan influence in Palestine before the Achaemenids (say 5th century B.C.). It was based upon the tendency to trace the influence of Persian thought in general, and of Zoroastrianism in particular, upon Judaism and Christianity. It is well known that the Abbasid caliphate at Bagdad (A.D. 750-1258) owed its brilliant achievements to the influence of Persians who were settled among, and lived in amity with, the Mohammedans. Indeed, Persian mentality has certain characteristics which would account for the Mohammedan scholarship of that period, and while a distinction is commonly drawn between the Indo-European and the Semitic mentality, that between the Iranian or Persian and the Indian is well marked, and we may expect Persian influence upon the Semite to have a similar effect at other periods than the Abbasid. As a matter of fact, the famous American assyriologist, the late Prof. Jastrow, pointed out that indications of the typical Persian mind, its objectivity and idea of order, could be traced in Babylonia in the Achaemenid period. This being so, the present writer suggested that the Persian or Zoroastrian influence upon Judaism, which is now commonly recognized *as regards particulars* (e.g. the contrast of Truth and Lie, the prevalence of angels, demons [e.g. Asmodeus], etc.), was more general, and that the Persian characteristic rationalizing tendencies would be obnoxious to the orthodox Jew, although the Persian universal God, Ahura-mazda, because of his marked ethical traits, might be respected or venerated. In other words, what we know of ancient Persia leads us to expect certain tendencies which, in the nature of the case, would be resented by the stricter worshippers of Yahweh, although Yahweh and Ahura-mazda would have certain ethical attributes in common.

But centuries before the period of the Persian Empire, namely, in the Amarna age (c. 1400 B.C.), an Aryan or Iranian wave can be traced in Mitanni (in the north), in Syria, and even in Palestine as far south as Jerusalem. The gods Varuna, Indra and Mitra were known in the north, and can be traced elsewhere; and there is every reason to infer that non-Semitic (Aryan or Iranian) influences left their mark upon Palestine and Syria. Now, the great ethical god Varuna, who was the forerunner of the Zoroastrian Ahura-mazda,

was the guardian of universal order (called *arta* or *rita*), and the term *arta*—familiar later in the name Artaxerxes—actually occurs in Mitannian and other names of the Amarna age. Hence it can be argued that this conception of law and order was already known in and about the 15th–14th century B.C.; and although it would be unsafe to generalize, it can safely be said that at an age which is *approximately* that of Mosaism, we have in Egypt the important monistic reform associated with the name of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton), and that to the north we find a more or less Aryan or Iranian (or, as some would prefer to call it, “Proto-Iranian”) wave, together with the ethical god Varuna and the idea of law and order of which he was the guardian and preserver. That is to say, the age *approximately* to which Israelite tradition ascribed Moses is that of more widely extended movements, and the religion of Israel enters upon its national career amid other religious movements elsewhere, even as the sublime teaching of the Second Isaiah belongs to that of an age of supreme religious importance from China to Greece, and even as Christianity arose in a larger world of religious unrest and activity.

Next, there is a gap between the evidence of the Amarna age and the age of the Persian Empire, yet Varuna is replaced by Ahura-mazda, the idea of *arta* becomes the purely ethical *asha* of Zoroastrianism, and Mitra, already named c. 1400 B.C., is the famous god of Achaemenid and later times. There must be some continuity between the two periods, and it is actually possible to fill the gap. There are various personal and divine names, more especially north and east of Syria, which show that the old Iranian wave was not entirely obliterated.

Moreover, in the 9th and 8th century B.C. Palestine was bound up with the political and cultural history of the northern states, and the interrelations between Palestine and the north, such as we find in the Amarna age, were as close as ever. Urartu (the Biblical Ararat) was almost as important a factor as was Assyria, and for a time actually controlled the political situation. Hence, although the rise of the prophets of Israel in the 8th century is usually associated with the political prominence of Assyria, the pre-eminence of the Khaldian kingdom of Van or Urartu is also to be considered. Israelite tradition knows of Ararat, the ancestors of Israel are connected with North Mesopotamia, and the district of Harran

is that of the immediate relations of the patriarchs. These associations with the north are not negligible, and it is worth noticing that the old view that Ur of the Chaldees was some Khaldian or Armenian Ur is still favoured by so moderate and judicious a scholar as Kittel. It is conceivable that there was some confusion in later tradition between Ur of the Babylonian Kasdim and a Khaldian Ur. In any case, although we commonly connect the Semites or sons of Shem with Arabia, one respectable tradition in Gen. x located them from Lydia to Elam, and certainly the cultural connections of the "Semites" with the "non-Semitic" lands of Asia Minor and Armenia have always been close.

This means that, although we think of the Semites as essentially of Arabian origin, Palestine and Syria were very closely bound up with the non-Semitic peoples and cultures lying to their north. Accordingly the present writer went on to suggest that the Iranian or Persian influences which can be traced in the Amarna, the Achaemenid and the Abbasid periods might be expected at other periods. Here the rise and teaching of Amos demand attention. This prophet is a landmark by reason of his teaching of Yahweh's ethical righteousness. The prophet's uncompromising doctrine of Yahweh's universality, and the supreme righteous order of the Universe, belongs to an age when both Urartu and Assyria were the dominant powers, and when Israel had come into nearer touch with her non-Semitic neighbours. It need not be supposed that Amos was actually *influenced* by Aryan or Iranian ideas of world-order; yet, although the precise date of Zoroaster is disputed, the rise of the Medes is imminent, and Amos is living in an age no less disturbed and no less international than that of six centuries previously. Neither Moses nor Amos was necessarily *directly* influenced by the widespread movements in the lands in which they lived—and Amos is well acquainted with the world outside him—but it seems possible to show that the great epochs in Biblical history are not to be treated in isolation, and that there is much to be gained from a deeper study of the ebb and flow of ideas over that large area of which Palestine formed an integral part.

It is easy to see at the present day how, amid some profound movements (e.g. Fascism, Bolshevism), men of independent mind neither borrow their ideas nor are immediately influenced, but they react to their intellectual environment; so, in ancient times, the

picture we are gaining of the spiritual and material intercourse over the Near East is furnishing new ideas of the points of contact and of difference between Israel and her neighbours. In particular, Iranian or Persian influence is certainly to be looked for before the age of Cyrus and the Persian Empire, and the present writer—following a hint of Eduard Meyer—threw out certain suggestions as to the traces of an early Iranian “rationalizing” upon early Old Testament narratives.

Further, he drew attention to the very important difference between the older conception of universal or cosmic order (*rita, arta*), which was under the care of the ethical god Varuna, and the later conception of a more explicitly ethical order in Zoroastrianism (*arta, asha*) under the care of Ahura-mazda. This marks a very significant advance in thought, and he suggested that the teaching of Amos, insisting as it does upon Yahweh’s ethical righteousness, and condemning the religion and religious institutions of his day, equally marks an advance from earlier and less ethical ideas of righteousness to ideas that were distinctively ethical and spiritual. To put it otherwise, the age of Moses is approximately that of the internationalism of the Amarna age; the age of the Second Isaiah, where the religion of Israel reached its sublimest heights, is that of the Persian Empire; and the rise of prophecy and the inculcation of new ethical and spiritual ideas of divine order in the Universe belonged to an age when Palestine and Syria were brought into closer contact with lands of non-Semitic culture, more especially Indo-European or Iranian.

This paper was supplemented by one at the Oriental Congress on Jerusalem’s title, “The City of Righteousness” (Isa. i, 26; Jer. xxxi, 23). Righteousness meant “right doing,” and later it meant specifically “almsgiving.” But early religion tended to be practical, and was often of a magico-religious character, and the religion which the great prophets condemned was evidently unethical, unspiritual, though clearly it was very genuine. So much emphasis is laid by them upon practical religion and the needs of practical life that early religion, too, must have involved ritual practices believed to have practical results. Even later the temple ritual was believed to be of essential importance for agricultural prosperity (Hag. i; Zech. xiv; Mal. iii, 10). Hence it was argued that when the prophets insist upon *ethical* righteousness and *spiritual* holiness, it was because the



old religion was vitiated by impure conceptions, by licentious rites, and by more or less magical ideas of the value of the ritual. There was religion, but it was ineffective.

The idea of "righteousness" is an old one. A king of Jerusalem, in the Amarna letters, assures his Egyptian suzerain that he is "righteous" (*zuduk*), i.e. loyal. The word itself is even found in a name of the first Babylonian Dynasty. Moreover, the old oriental gods, and especially the solar gods, were not without ethical attributes. Accordingly, although ethical and spiritual ideas in themselves are ancient, and by no means confined to Palestine, we are bound to conclude that religion in general was first spiritualized by the prophets of Israel. There is evidence for advanced religious ideas and for the idea of righteousness in Jerusalem itself before the Israelites, but we must conclude that an ethico-spiritual religion had not yet been established. In fact, Palestine had its old Sun and Rain-gods, religion was saturated with naturalistic conceptions, and although ethical ideas were not wanting, the step towards the reforming of the old religion was taken by Amos and his successors. Failing this, it becomes impossible to understand the prophets of the Old Testament.

If, then, the idea of "righteousness" was an old one, but without the specific ethical and spiritual meaning which the prophets gave it, what must be said of the older religion? Amos taught that Yahweh's righteousness was ethical: He must punish His own people if they offend; the relationship is an ethical one, not a natural one. Yahweh's nature was such that sin naturally brought punishment, obedience brought reward. This ethical God both punished and rewarded. Amos thus defines Yahweh's character. Now Yahweh was, for Amos, no mere nature-god like the old gods. Yet already the nature-gods had been both beneficent and destructive; men could not live without sun or rain, but the sun and the storm destroyed life. The nature-gods naturally had this paradoxical character, and Amos is teaching that even a *national*-god, a god who is Israel's own God, cannot be solely the protector and life-giver of his own people, but is wholly ethical. Both his beneficent and his punitive aspects depend naturally upon Israel's behaviour, and do not point to any arbitrariness on the part of a "righteous" God.

The old nature-gods had brought their problems of life and death—the fact that the life-giving sun or weather-god could also

destroy. But the problem has shifted, in the prophets, from the cosmic or naturalistic sphere to the ethical. Furthermore, Jerusalem and its environment would naturally exercise a profound psychological effect upon its inhabitants. Sir George Adam Smith, in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, writes eloquently on the extreme contrasts—the extraordinary wealth and fertility of an Engedi or Jericho; the deserts which “gave the people the sense of living next door to doom”; localities that were “a garden of the Lord,” and the Dead Sea, “this hell with the sun shining into it.” The district bred “an austere and fanatic temper,” and it is easy to understand how the extremes of life and death would impress themselves upon reflective minds. This will readily be granted. But the present writer ventured to go further and to comment upon the salt deposits and the importance of the salt trade. In the first place, salt had all the associations both of life-giving or preserving and of killing or destroying. Next, salt was one of the chief economic and religious necessities of the ancient world, and played a great part in ancient commerce. Salt brought life and death, the “covenant of salt” (Num. xviii, 19) was inviolable, and as such it preserved society. So Jerusalem and its district had at hand this very important substance. It controlled, so to say, this vehicle of life and death; and when we consider what salt stood for, it is easy to imagine how Jerusalem could gain the conviction of its supreme importance, simply because, situated as it was at the door of this strange and mysterious district, it could control this strange and mysterious article. Also, we have to remember that Jerusalem as a holy city goes back long before the Israelites. Its religious environment (Beth-Shemesh, Anathoth, Valley of Hinnom, etc.) was not created by Israelite invaders from the desert; it has a more ancient ancestry, and goes back to a time when more primitive religious conceptions prevailed. To the east of the Dead Sea at ed-Dra has been discovered remains of an ancient sanctuary of, roughly, the Hyksos period (see *Q.S.*, 1925, p. 101). It seems to have been a place of pilgrimage, a necropolis: and what more suggestive place for early religious rites than the terrible deadness of the Dead Sea and the life-giving salt? Early religion, as we see elsewhere, was “economic” before there was “nature-worship,” and it is proper to recall the half-Egyptian, half-Semitic cult at the turquoise mines of Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinaitic peninsula.

The means of life and livelihood tended to be the centre of cults ; of this there are innumerable examples, and it may be conjectured that from very early times the properties of salt and the possession of the salt deposits and the remarkable character of the region around the Dead Sea would stamp the religion of Jerusalem.

In some way Jerusalem, of all places, gained a religious importance before the Amarna age and the Israelites. As a city of "righteousness," the idea is pre-Israelite, though it is necessary to remember that the meaning of the term was ethicized and spiritualized by the prophets. Primitive religion was nourished on symbols, and salt preserved covenants and thus maintained social order, even as, later, anthropomorphic gods (*e.g.* Varuna or Mitra) were covenant-gods. Indeed, according to late Phœnician myth, salt was discovered by *Misor* and *Suduk*—*i.e.* by Uprightness and Righteousness—testimony to the persisting symbolical meaning of salt.

These abstracts may suffice to show how archaeology and comparative religion combine to make us place the Bible and its problems upon a new and broader canvas. The religious pre-eminence of Jerusalem, how did it arise ? The sanctuary of ed-Dra, what was its purpose ? The character of the older religion which confronted the Israelites, and which the prophets reformed—what changes precisely were effected ? The continuity we find in religious development, how far back can it be traced ? The persisting beliefs in the supreme significance of Jerusalem and its temple, of Israel and her message : what is their ancestry ? Can we go back to the psychological influence of the Dead Sea region and the control of the salt deposits, when Jerusalem could be said to hold the key to that which brought life and death, to that which made for the permanence of covenants and treaties ? Not the Jews alone felt themselves to be the "salt of the earth" : and how appropriate is the phrase from the Founder of new ideals of righteousness ! The "salt of the earth," to save the world from corruption : it was the part that Jerusalem, the Temple and Israel would play in their day.

What is being done in the scientific study of religion, in tracing backward and forward the development of ideas, in interpreting allusions and symbols (*e.g.* "the covenant of salt"), and in weaving all the evidence into new pictures of the course of religion and

history—all this shows how profoundly modern research is severing us from the accepted ideas of the recent past. Much is, of course, hypothesis, but legitimate hypothesis; the blanks and gaps are many; the need for help and workers urgent. Palestine holds the key in more ways than one. The particular problems which Palestine and the Bible bring are clearly of supremely vital importance. In a very real sense does the recovery and interpretation of the past illuminate the future, and the new ideas we gain of even the distant past guide us towards the unknown future. Some side-light upon the antiquity of Jerusalem, some great sanctuary at ed-Dra, some new knowledge of the gods of Beth-Shan, and the details, of purely antiquarian interest though they often seem to be, go to construct a living picture of the past, and a truer one than was, or could have been, framed before.

The strenuous endeavour to find the best methods of interpreting the Bible, the eagerness to pursue the excavation of Palestine and neighbouring lands, and the knowledge that masses of material are waiting to be unearthed—all these reflect the remarkable activity which these years are witnessing. It is idle to ask whether the Bible is being "proved" or "disproved," whether "criticism" is being refuted by "archaeology" or the reverse.

In the two papers summarized above there is, it is believed, nothing that actually rests upon "Higher Criticism," although the supreme significance which all modern scholars attach to the prophets of Israel lies essentially at the basis of modern literary criticism. The really important fact is that this modern research has taken us away from old-time views, but has not yet brought us to our goal. That is why it is an imperative duty to continue the archaeological and other labours which have been so well begun. The old views of Biblical history have gone, never more to be resuscitated, save by those who ignore modern research, and it is a pity that efforts should still be made to persuade the public that they can return. But no one can deny that there is a very fervent desire to restate the religious meaning of the Bible—even the attacks upon Biblical Criticism imply this—and it is therefore the more necessary to recognize that this can be done, not by going back to old and superseded views, but by continuing the work of research, and by availing ourselves of the opportunities which this country especially now enjoys as a mandatory power in the Near East.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

*Palestine Old and New.* By Albert M. Hyamson. 287 pp., with 28 illustrations and a map. (London: Methuen and Co., 1928. 7s. 6d.)

THIS book "is intended both for those who visit Palestine, and for those who lack the opportunity, but not the desire, to do so." It is excellently suited for both classes of people. For the former it affords a clearly written and portable volume to read on the voyage—out or homewards. It is more readable than an ordinary guide-book, but will not entirely replace the latter in making excursions. All the more outstanding facts about the usually visited places in Palestine, their present condition and their historic past, are marshalled in one continued narrative. There is very little scenic description or travel advice, and little sentiment, religious or artistic. The pages are, however, enlivened in many places by humorous folk-lore tales. To those familiar with the average tourist's ignorance of Bible history it will seem a mistake not to give references to the Biblical events. The arrangement is in guide-book form, commencing with "The Gates of Palestine," the common approaches to Jerusalem, the City itself, and the various excursions usually made from it. An outline of the "History of Palestine" prefaces the description of the land and its relation—by its customs and many archaeological finds—to the Bible. Mr. Hyamson, who in a previous book has written very fully of Zionism, here gives a brief but most readable account of this movement in its most enduring form—the Jewish Colonies. In justice to him it should be mentioned that he is everywhere impartial to all the various religious interests in Palestine. No book with so much detail can be free of errors—some misprints. We have noted a few. Why *Alouros Halkul* for the Village of Hulhul (p. 154)? The ruins of the Church of St. Anna are not (p. 164) upon the summit of Tel Sandahanna but on a neighbouring hill, nor are the painted tombs of Marissa found at Kurbet Merash (p. 170). Erika should be Eriha, and Giljuliel is an impossible transliteration (p. 173). Ain Feshkhah is certainly not a river but a small spring (p. 175). Why Cherazeh instead of Kherazeh (p. 225),

and why Semach (p. 252) and Tel Es Semak, both meaning "fish" (p. 240)? No one who had himself visited the Kula'at ibn Ma'an could describe it as incorporating in itself *innumerable* caves (p. 217). These are a few very minor errors in a book which, for its kind, is of unusual accuracy, and which will give the intending traveller a very good idea of what to see. It is attractively got up, the paper is light, the price moderate, and the illustrations, especially those of Mr. J. Schweig, excellent.

E. W. G. M.

*Gerar*. By Sir Flinders Petrie, F.R.S., F.B.A. British School of Archaeology in Egypt. (Quaritch, 1928.)

In this volume Sir Flinders Petrie describes the result of his work at Tell Gemmeh (Jemmeh), December, 1926–May, 1927. The site lies 8 miles south of Gaza, and the old name survives in the Umm Jerar, two miles off. Six successive though independent building-periods were found, and these are ascribed to the age of (a) the Persians, (b) Psamtek I, (c) Amaziah, (d) Sheshenk I, (e) Ramses III, and (f) Thotmes III. Reason is given for these datings; thus in (a) there is a granary (1) built on rubbish containing a red-figure Attic vase not earlier than 460, and (2) evidently intended for supplying an army to invade Egypt, hence before 455 B.C. rather than for the invasions of more than a century later. All the dates, it is argued, possess inner consistency and they form the basis of many interesting deductions. Among the scarabs the most notable represents a king on a dromedary shooting at a lion (Pl. xvii, No. 12). An altar before which stands a worshipper (xvii, 49, cf. xix, 27) is said to be surmounted by a pair of horns and to have pendants; the otherwise natural view that the emblem is the crescent is deliberately rejected (cf. Pl. xix, 30, and p. 11). These illustrate the Assyrian period. Among the arrow- and lance-heads are types of the XXVIth Dynasty and perhaps of Scythian origin: the fort at Gerar was probably used to hold back the Scythians who were then in Ashkelon and were threatening Egypt (p. 16). The pottery figures include a type apparently representing the Queen of Heaven holding a cake offered to her (date c. 1000 B.C. (p. 17)). A new type, moulded in one piece, of clumsy thick style (one has a peg at the back for attachment to a wall), is explained as possibly Edomite—prior to Amaziah's war on Edom. The variety of figures, male and

female, is of great interest (p. 17). The model chariots and wheels of chariots point to Assyria, and also further east to Anau in Turkestan: they are taken to represent Mesopotamian or Central Asian influence of the time of Sheshenk (Shishak), and the very strange notched wheels are suitable on sandy soil where the top layer of loose sand would be pierced, thus saving the labour wasted in displacing the loose sand by a smooth wheel (p. 18). A curious cuboid altar of limestone with roughly inscribed designs (p. 19) recalls those found by Macalister at Gezer (vol. ii, pp. 442 *sqq.*). A carnelian seal with Phoenician (old Hebrew) writing reads **דַּרְיָאִים אֱלִיָּקִים**. Though dated at 800 B.C., it is tempting to interpret the first word as Darius; the second, Eliakim, is of course familiar. The form of the *m*, too, suggests a date later than 800 B.C. (p. 19). Some inscribed jar-handles, etc., are too uncertain to make much of (*ib.*).

In a concluding chapter "Connections with the Records," Sir Flinders proceeds to consider the "breath of reality," which the discoveries have brought to "the debates of purely literary criticism." They illustrate the agricultural wealth of the district where Isaac sowed and reaped an hundredfold. The Philistines here (*viz.* Abimelech) and at Ekron were exporting grain to the rocky lands of Crete or S.W. Asia Minor; and Abimelech was not a chieftain but a corn factor. The Philistines would not want Isaac and his herds to eat up their corn supply; and, further, because they were peaceful traders, they are not named in the Egyptian campaigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty. So also there was no need for a fortified mound at Ekron, and therefore the identification with Akir need not be rejected because of the absence of a mound there. The stories of Sarah and Rebekah, it is urged, are perfectly natural; indeed to the present day from the top of the mound you can see the women and children in the bedouin tents (p. 29 and Plate III). If the Philistines live in their five cities in Joshua's day, whereas in Saul's time they are at Beth-shan, it is because the active oppression by the Philistines did not begin till about 1070. Commenting on the abundant use of gold in deposits of 1180-40, Sir Flinders points out that Gideon delivered Israel from the Midianites in 1144 and got a great booty of gold; "this great abundance of gold *just at this one period* [our italics] points to the Midianites having found a large supply which was soon exhausted . . . It is unlikely that

the knowledge of this particular period of riches would have been preserved without a contemporary record, such as we have in the book of Judges." Later, points of contact with Assyria and the East lead to his old view that Shishak (Sheshenk) or Shushan-ku "the man of Susa," had come westwards with a body of Turkoman troops. They were peaceful and did not disturb Solomon, and as David had had every male in Edom slain, "this would leave the south country bare for occupation, and clear the track for easterners . . . on the way to Egypt." And so throughout the periods, we are shown "how the material remains at Gerar help in understanding the records that we have, and give a physical basis for history which substantiates the contemporary accounts" (p. 31). And, if the arm of coincidence seems to be unduly stretched, who shall say that this is too great a price to pay for the admirable volume with its excellent description of the rich finds which the great excavator has presented to us?

*Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum.* By H. R. Hall, D.L.H., F.B.A. (Paris and Brussels: G. van Oest, 1928.)

THIS sumptuous volume by the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum presents a number of the more interesting examples of sculpture which our National Museum contains. Owing to the great amount of material, much that is popularly called sculpture has to be excluded; and even to make a good selection from the stone sculpture was not very easy. The British Museum and the Louvre excel as regards Assyria and Babylonia respectively, and the former owes its pre-eminence to the activity of Layard at Nimrūd, the site of the ancient Calah. Dr. Hall comments on the extraordinary vigour of the Assyrian work of the 9th century B.C., the energy is fierce yet not savage, though the Assyrians were barbarous enough; and since Assyrian art is at its finest in the time of Ashur-nasir-pal, who rejoiced to burn the children of his enemies alive, the psychological relation between the art of a people and its temperament is an instructive study. Some fine examples of ancient Sumerian art date from the recent excavations of Dr. Hall himself (1919), and Mr. Woolley (1923-24); though admittedly the Louvre is here far ahead.



Dr. Hall writes a useful introduction upon the general features of the Assyrian collection, and detailed descriptions of the sixty large plates. He finely interprets the characteristics of Assyrian art, and although the pictures speak for themselves, the pages which draw attention to the strength and to the weakness of the artists, their idiosyncrasies and their conventions, enable us to see into the Assyrian *psyche* in a way that few other books permit. Dr. Hall notes the difference as regards the human figure between the Egyptian and the Semite. There is no real portraiture in Assyrian art, yet the Assyrian king does not seem to stand so aloof as the Egyptian pharaoh. The Assyrian gods, though divine, are not so mysterious as the Egyptian, and Dr. Hall comments upon the "sort of family feeling" in Assyria, from gods to people, which he misses in Egypt. Women are rarely represented. Animals are splendidly depicted. Finally, Dr. Hall suggests the lines along which Assyrian art may have journeyed afield to Behistun, and (with Greek and Persian mixture) to India and even China.

Of course, one cannot generalize from Assyria to, say, Palestine and Syria, but this superb volume enables us to visualize what Jews and Aramaeans saw, and lovers of early art, no less than those interested in the old Oriental world, will welcome this beautiful volume. Students of the Old Testament will find among the plates "the Black Obelisk" of Shalmaneser III (with the famous representation of Jehu), a Phoenician ship with ram-bow (c. 700 B.C.), Sennacherib's siege of Lachish, the plight of the inhabitants, desert warfare against the Arabs, etc., etc.

*Why is cultivated Egypt immune from malarial fever?* Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G., in pamphlets printed at the Nile Mission Press, Cairo, points out that the malaria mosquito must first get malaria before it can be harmful, and that there are certain kinds of clover which makes it immune, and therefore innoxious. Under the conditions prevailing in Palestine and Transjordan clovers and other legumens would remove all risk; in fact, "there is no reason why this immunity of Egypt from malaria might not be copied in all the malaria-infested parts of the earth."

In the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, October, 1927, among the topics of more interest for our purpose is an account by G. D. Hornblower of a little humped bull of ivory. Such humped cattle

belong "almost certainly" to the XVIIIth Dynasty and come from Western Asia, where they are considerably older. An illustration is given of one of the small "limestone altars" unearthed by Prof. Petrie in South Palestine (1926-27); it is dated about the 7th century B.C. (It may be added that Prof. Macalister found some traces of a "species of zebu-like humped cattle," one example of which was amid Egyptian objects of the XVIIIth Dynasty [*Gezer*, ii, p. 5 *seq.*]; reference may also be made to Ronzevalle's article on humped cattle in vol. iv of the *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beirut [see *Q.S.*, 1911, p. 211].)

The June number of *The Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania) contains Mr. Alan Rowe's final report of the 1927 excavations at Beisan. The god Mekal of Beth-shan, on which see *Q.S.*, April, p. 79 *seq.*, is now identified with Sutekh or Set; the meaning of the name is still doubtful. As regards the view that Beth-shan means "house of Shan," Shan being an old Mesopotamian serpent-deity, Mr. Rowe remarks that the Pennsylvania Museum possesses a cylinder seal of c. 1900 B.C. with the deity "Shakhan son of Shamash" (*i.e.* the sun-god), behind whom is a staff with two serpents coiled around it. This god appears elsewhere in both male and female form. A fuller account is given of a Hittite seal which bears two deities, an elephant (the first occurrence on cylinder seals), and a vulture and an ass. On another seal are six captives with their hands tied behind them. In congratulating the University and Mr. Alan Rowe on their successful work at Beisan, we should like to express our sincere appreciation of the generous way in which their discoveries are so promptly and freely broadcast. In the same number Mr. L. Legrain describes some late Graeco-Parthian statuettes and carvings of the nude mother-goddess found near the ruins of Babylon.

The seventh volume of the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* for 1925-26 is devoted mainly to Mr. Dougherty's report of his survey in Southern Babylonia for ancient remains (pp. 1-93). Dr. W. H. P. Hatch gives an unpublished Greek inscription from 'Ammān, which he reads: Νύμφαι καὶ μούσαις καπιτωλίου Μανέ[? ἀνθηκεν] "To the nymphs and muses of the Capital Mane (? set it up)."

*The Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, January, contains a suggestive study by Th. Dombart of the "notched sword" carried by the Babylonian sun-god Shamash which, he suggests, was a saw. The article is full of interesting and valuable remarks on ancient saws, swords and knives. N. J. Reich considers the geographical terms Mizraim and Pathros: the former seems to have been applied to Lower Egypt only, in the first instance. How far it may have extended to the east he does not discuss, though it is an important question; for although the theory of an extensive North Arabian kingdom of Mizraim is no longer supported, both ancient and modern Egypt feels that the Sinaitic peninsula is Egyptian, and once it is realized that the name "Egypt" was readily extended to the east of the confines of what we understand as "Egypt" proper, several interesting questions arise. Eberhard Hommel supplements his earlier articles on the names and the myths associated with Hermon and Jordan; his main point is the distribution of a similar geographical nomenclature over Palestine, the Levant and Greece.

In the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, October, 1927, Prof. Butin writes on the Byzantine remains in Palestine. He remarks that the École Française d'Archéologie at Amwas (Emmaus)-Nicompolis has shown that there was a church seventy years before Constantine, whereas de Vogüé had thought that previous to his reign there were only small chapels, carefully dissimulated so as to avoid detection and persecution. It is probable that the church is late Roman, and of the time of the liberal-minded Alexander Severus (middle of the 3rd century A.D.). Prof. Butin also comments on the work at the Eleona, the new church at Gethsemane, and St. Peter in Gallicantu (the supposed House of Caiaphas). In the issue of February, 1928, Dr. Albright writes on the Canaanite mounds of eastern Galilee. Apropos of Prof. Garstang's identification of Hazor (Joshua xi) with Tell el-Kedah and the great enclosed terrace to the north of it—an identification confirmed by Father Vincent—Dr. Albright considers that it is "the most important topographic discovery which has been made for many years." The city occupied about eight times the area of Megiddo and flourished during the Early and Late Bronze periods. Dr. Albright identifies the city on the Horns of Hattin with the royal city of Madin, whose name survives in the Khirbet Madin, about half a mile

to the north-west. And here a shrine of the prophet Sha'ib, i.e. Jethro, the priest of Midian, seems to owe itself to a confusion of the names Madin and Madyan (Midian). Other important sites of the Bronze Age are discussed, and a short account is given of the digging at Beitin-Bethel facilitated through the generosity of Mr. Harold M. Wiener. The pottery allowed the conclusion that the first occupation of Bethel dates from before 1800 B.C.

In the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, vii, 3, H. M. Wiener identifies the Ramah of Samuel with Beit Rima and suggests that the name of the land of Zuph still survives in the name Umm Suffah. F. M. Abel shows that the place *Khorsia* (ὁ χορσία), in the Life of St. Saba, ch. xxiv, cannot be Chorazin (Kh. Kerāzeh), as is thought, but is *Kursi* on Lake Tiberias. The famous Ahiiram sarcophagus discovered at Byblus, with the oldest known example of Phoenician writing (see *Q.S.*, 1926, pp. 45, 124), is discussed by Albright, who offers a new translation and dates it c. 1200 B.C. The Gezer tablet he considers to be not later than the Division of the Kingdom, and suggests a date in the early 10th century. In vii, 4, Wiener writes on the relative dates of Ezra and Nehemiah; he retains this, the traditional order, and suggests that the present complexities of the narrative are due to the compiler's belief that Nehemiah and Ezra lived under the Artaxerxes who, as subsequent to Darius, must have been Artaxerxes II. The relation between the theory of the ancient compiler and the best modern explanation of the data (most scholars agree that Ezra followed Nehemiah) should be borne in mind. T. Canaan gives an account of "the child in Palestinian Arab superstition." Ditlef Nielson argues that the original site of Mount Sinai is to be sought at Petra, where was the sacred mountain and the moon-cult which, he thinks, distinguishes the oldest religion of Yahweh. In viii, 1, Alexis Mallon refers to an extremely interesting Egyptian text, first published by Sethe in 1926, anathematizing actual or possible enemies of Egypt—a prototype, one might almost say, of the series of "prophecies against the nations" in the Old Testament. Names or descriptions of the foe were written upon pottery which was then broken in the belief that they were destroyed or rendered useless.<sup>1</sup> Among the names

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Lods in *Old Testament Studies*, p. 59 (ed. Simpson; Griffin & Co., London, 1927).

are many of the 'Aamu or Asiatics, and since the text appears to be of the XIth Dynasty (c. 2000 B.C.), the identification of the names is of the highest importance. Some can be pretty clearly made out: Gebal, 'Iskanu (Ashhelon), etc. *Awshamm*, it is suggested, stands for *Awshlmm*, i.e. Urusalim, the earlier form of Jerusalem, so Sethe and Dussaud (in *Syria*, viii, 229). The identification is admittedly a precarious one; but, as the article points out, Jerusalem had relations with Egypt at a very early date, and the excavations at Jericho, Beth-shan and Gezer have shown that certainly in these less secluded places Egyptian objects go back to c. 2000 B.C. Gerald M. FitzGerald writes on the Rhodian stamps and the potter Agathobulus. The trade in amphorae extends from c. 331 B.C. to about the middle of the 1st century B.C., and we now have the names of almost all the eponymous priests. Many of the potters, too, are known, but the Agathorudus who appears twice at Gezer (pp. 354, 360, Nos. 85 and 359), and twice at Samaria (p. 311), should evidently be that of the well-known potter Agathobulus. The account of David's capture of Jerusalem is discussed by E. L. Sukenik, who disputes the commonly accepted view that *sinnör* means "water-shaft" and argues for "trident." In Ps. xlii, 8, the reference may be to the trident (? tridents in the text) with which the Almighty strikes the sea and makes the breakers, and in 2 Sam. v, 6-8, it is conjectured that the trident was more especially a weapon with hooks for scaling walls. Abel discusses the name Capernaum and also the environs of Bir Zeit.

The Egyptian evidence for Jerusalem, etc., referred to above, is also discussed by the Rev. J. W. Jack in *The Expository Times*, April, 1928. He observes that two names are given of rulers of Jerusalem which are read as Yakar-'Ammu and Set-'Anu. Not only do we thus seem to get compounds of the divine names 'Ammu and the male form of the goddess 'Anath, but Mr. Jack comments on the absence of the idea of "righteousness" which we find associated with Jerusalem in Melchizedek, Adonizedek, etc. On the other hand, the old god 'Ammu is actually compounded with *z-d-k* in the name Ammi-zaduga of the possibly contemporary First Babylonian Dynasty; and it would be interesting to know whether, as this Dynasty seems to have Amorite connections, the *z-d-k* names were established in Jerusalem through some later Amorite or

cognate influence. Mr. Jack also comments on a name *Iy'nk*, which is supposed to represent the Biblical 'Anak or Anakim. If so, the name is both genuine and ancient, though it would be unsafe to refer to the "Annaki" who, in the Amarna Letters, are hostile to Gezer (see Knudtzon, No. 298, l. 28, and his cautious note). What, then, becomes of the Sons of Anak, the "giants"? The Egyptian evidence, for which we must refer readers to Dussaud's excellent article in *Syria*, vol. viii, 216 sqq., combines with the archaeological data to emphasize the antiquity of history and culture in Palestine, centuries before what may be called for convenience the Mosaic Age. The names of places were already in many cases fixed. The language was Semitic, of a Hebraic type, and the history of Israel belongs to really a relatively late period of Palestine. Hence we have often late secondary or tertiary traditions, traditions based upon confused recollections, just as in Arabia only confused traditions survived of the old civilizations of the Minaeans and Sabaeans which we are recovering. To take another case, Mr. Jack agrees with Dussaud in identifying the Manassite Helek (Num. xxvi, 30), but as the name is regarded as a clan or tribal division of Manasseh, whereas it is really many centuries earlier, we must suppose that the Biblical genealogies give us *their* traditions of the origin of names—the traditions current in the day when *they* were drawn up.

Aapeli Saarisalo, *The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali* (Helsinki, 1927), contributes a detailed archaeological and topographical survey of the district concerned, a study of the Biblical evidence, and a discussion of the identifications and conclusions arising therefrom. It is a full and important monograph which deserves careful attention, as it is too technical for any summarizing here. The oldest cities follow the course of the old thoroughfare between Syria and Egypt; and trade-routes and the quality of the soil have been the two factors determining the selection of sites. The boundary line separating the two Israelite tribes under consideration seems to have been along the high ridge running from Tabor to the Jordan; indeed, the writer raises the question whether *gebul*, "border," may not have meant "mountain" like the Arabic word *jebel* (pp. 131 sqq.). The monograph is accompanied by 48 small photographs of the districts.

One article in the *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, 1926, vii-xii, has a wider interest than the rest: a careful and well-illustrated discussion by M. W. Deonna of the origins of the representation of men in Greek art. A lengthy article of more than 60 pages with 25 series of figures, it affords one of the completest and most instructive investigations into primitive art, the way in which children represent the human figure, and the chief characteristic types. Whether one agrees with all M. Deonna's conclusions or not, one cannot fail to learn from the material which he has collected.

M. Ch. Bruston, of the University of Toulouse, publishes, under the heading "L'inscription du Jardin de Salomon" (Montauban, 1928), the decipherment of an old and practically unintelligible inscription first published in the *Survey of Western Palestine*. There is also said to be a photograph of it in vol. 1 of *Bibbia Tradotta*, p. 202, by Luzzi. The original was found upon three stones at the foundation of the temple of Jerusalem, and the script, according to Bruston, comes between that of the Sinaitic writing at Serabit el-Khadem and the inscriptions of Byblus, Gezer, etc. M. Bruston's reading is: אף יפפפף לרען על גן ורקע הז ועל קעקעת, and his translation runs: "certes, il est bien beau d'être florissant sur ce jardin et cette voûte et sur des retranchements."

In the *Revue Biblique* the work of Vincent is, as usual, the most important from the archaeological point of view. He has a detailed study, with illustrations, of the third wall of Jerusalem (1927, pp. 516-48; 1928, pp. 80-100). He surveys the American excavations at Beisan (1928, pp. 123 *sqq.*), with important comparative notes (*e.g.* on the weapons). The bull, bearing on its back the cartouche of Thotmes III (p. 133, pl. x, 7), is of special interest, the style is Syrian, and the bull is the animal of the Asiatic Teshub-Addu-Ramman, although it was used in laudatory phrases of the Pharaohs of the XIXth Dynasty. The serpent-emblems and the serpent-deity *Sakhan* (or *Sha-an*), who was the god of good health, etc., suggest that the healing gods, the Phoenician Eshmun and the Greek Aesculapius, with their serpent symbol, had a very ancient ancestry. The "serpent of bronze" (Num. xxi, 6-9) will be the Canaanite equivalent, "mais vivifié par une croyance tout autre."

A valuable review of Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie* should also be mentioned (1927, pp. 596-9). Father Abel publishes a late Greek inscription from Medaba, and a Roman graffito from 'Esfia, near Carmel, and gives an account of the recent earthquake and some of its predecessors (1927, pp. 567-78; see also 1928, p. 320).

Recent increased interest in the problem of the Amorites makes Father Dhorme's investigation extremely opportune (*Revue Biblique*, 1928, pp. 63-79, 161-80, unfinished). We find, *e.g.* that the god Dagan was prominent in Mesopotamia as early as the 28th century B.C., so also the Moon-god (*erah*) is common, and among the personal names is a Da-wi-da-nim (Dhorme translates "ami"). The chief god was Amurru, "lord of the mountain," who with his consort Ashratum, "lady of the plain," correspond to the later Hadad and Asherah, and ruled throughout Syria and Palestine. The Amorite district extended from the Mediterranean to Palmyra and Teima, and the distinctively Amorite dialect and nomenclature can be traced back before the age of Hammurabi. They do not belong further to the east, although their conquests in the second half of the third millennium B.C. led to the foreign (Amorite) dynasties first at Larsa and then at Babylon.

C. Buordon writes on the topography of the isthmus of Suez (*Rev. Bib.*, 1928, pp. 232-56), and Savignac discusses the Phoenician inscription from Ur recently on view at the British Museum (see Burrows, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1927, pp. 791 *sqq.*). It was found under a pavement of the age of Nebuchadrezzar, and is important for the history of the Phoenician script. The French excavations at Nerab are described by Barrois (1928, pp. 263-75). A cemetery, apparently of about the 6th-5th century B.C., has already been described (1927, pp. 257 *sqq.*, and *Syria*, 1927, pp. 126 *sqq.*, 201 *sqq.*). To be noted are the torpedo-like jars which had contained food for the dead (*e.g.* remains of birds), also the vessels, placed one over the other, containing small bronze objects, and by the tomb of a child of 12 or 13, and the infant jar-burials. The Aramaic inscriptions from Nerab have long been known (G. A. Cooke, *N. Semitic Inscriptions*, Nos. 64 *sqq.*); and some cuneiform tablets have now been found of the 5th century. M. Barrois mentions a potsherd bearing a name which, it is said, reads Jehoram (*y-h-w-r-m*). Rude models of horses are favoured—sometimes with riders, male or female.



In *Syria*, 1927, fasc. 3, Contenau describes six idols from Asia Minor, and now in the Louvre. They are "Cappadocian," and curiously conventionalized, with two or three figures surmounting a more or less circular plaque. The excavations at Nerab are described with numerous illustrations, by Barrois; and Dhorme writes a note on the cuneiform tablets, several of which have Aramaic titles. It is observed that among the proper names are compounds of the god Nusku (נִשְׁכּוּ), who is mentioned upon the Aramaic inscriptions of Nerab. It may be added that another compound (Nusku-idri) occurs among the Aramaic papyri found at Elephantine (5th century). The occurrence of this god-name, both at Nerab and Elephantine, helps to explain the mixed nature of the Jewish-Aramaean colony in Upper Egypt. Another Nerab tablet bears the name of Bar Abba (בַּר אַבְבָּא); unfortunately the Assyrian equivalent cannot be recognized. René Dussaud's article upon the Egyptian list of Palestinian and other foes has already been mentioned (*Syria*, viii, 216 sqq.). It is of great value for its full documentation; although, as everyone agrees, the identification of the names is often quite conjectural. He emphasizes the curious kinship between the personal names and those of the (Amorite) First Babylonian Dynasty. The divine names are particularly striking, as they include Shamash, Sin, Hadad, El, 'Anu, 'Amm, Amurru. It may be that the success of the Amorites in Babylonia had aroused the fears of the Egyptians, and that we have here the first hint of the dreaded Hyksos who were later to invade Egypt itself. In any event, this list of redoubtable foes, written in the ancient hieratic Egyptian upon pots which were then intentionally destroyed, is perhaps the most important contribution to Palestine of—let us say—the age of Abraham, that has come to light in recent years.

*Syria*, vol. viii, fasc. 4, opens with a very full account (with 25 plates) of the French excavations at the large mound of el-Mishrifeh, north-east of Homs (Emesa), identified with the ancient Katna. The Comte du Mesnil du Buisson continues his report in vol. ix (1928), pp. 6–24. Of special interest is the sanctuary of the Babylonian goddess Nin-Egal, with a fine Egyptian sphinx with a dedication to the Egyptian princess Ita (of the XIIth Dynasty). Together with other Egyptian monuments, and the discoveries at

Byblus, the evidence for close interrelations between Phoenicia, Syria and Egypt at about 2000 B.C. is becoming more and more striking. Fragments were found of inventories of the temple treasure; these, as described in an earlier report, refer to the goddess "the baalath of the temple" (*belat ekalli*) and the "gods of the king." Albert Gabriel writes on the ruins of Kasr el-Heir (1927, pp. 302 *sqq.*), and Cumont brilliantly traces the Syrians in Spain and the Adonia at Seville (pp. 330 *sqq.*). A Latin text from Bulgaria discussed by René Cagnat, adds to our knowledge of the Roman Army in Syria (1928, pp. 25-31). Art of the Mohammedan period is represented by an article by R. Koechlin on the Muslim pottery from Susa now in the Louvre, and by Gaston Migeon's paper, *Jérusalem Musulmane d'après Max van Berchem*. R. de Mecquenem has a useful review of Frankfort's studies in *Early Pottery of the Near East*, and Dussaud publishes a photograph of a Syrian sun-dial found north of Homs at Tell Biseh, probably of the 5th century A.D.

In *Biblica* (ix, 1) Mader writes on the German excavation at the Haram Ramet el-Khalil at Mamre, the date and object of which have been much discussed. Buildings of five periods were recognized, from the Herodian and Hadrian periods to the Arabian.<sup>1</sup> Rev. E. Power quotes an Arab story which suggests the view that Jael may have offered Sisera curds in order to increase his thirst and then force him to go to some well where men, already forewarned, might find him (p. 47). In the second number (ix, 2), Father Mallon gives a summary of the Beisan excavations with illustrations including the cylinder of Rameses II, unearthed in 1925. On it is the Semitic Resheph, who was well known to the Egyptians, though Father Mallon connects it with the newly discovered god Mekal described by Mr. Rowe (*Q.S.*, April, pp. 79 *sqq.*), and suggests that both represent the old god Sutekh, the great deity of ancient Palestine and Syria.

In the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* the new editor (Johannes Hempel) continues the excellent surveys of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mader gives a fuller account in *Oriens Christianus*, ii, 1928, pp. 24-43.

archaeological and biblical work which, under his predecessor (the late Hugo Gressmann), made this international journal so invaluable. In the numbers before us Unger writes on the Tower of Babel (vol. xlv, heft 3), which, as described in a tablet, appears to combine old Sumerian and late Assyrian ideas, and can be ascribed to the creative age of Esarhaddon (7th century): it is a harmonious fusion of the Assyrian and Babylonian Mountain of the Gods, a sign of the mighty world-power of that monarch. Nicolsky discusses the Passover in the temple of Jerusalem (continued in heft 4). In vol. I, heft 3, G. R. Driver investigates the original form of the divine name "Jehovah."

The *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. I, heft iv, contains the continuation of Prof. Sellin's provisional report of his work at Shechem in the summer of 1927. Among the small objects are (a) a white scarabaeus, typical Hyksos work, representing a Horus-like god, perhaps Adonis; (b) a jar-handle bearing the impression both of a scarab and of a cylinder seal—a remarkable combination! It is typical Middle Empire; (c) a strange scarab representing a man holding the usual palm-branch, with the winged disk above. In vol. II, heft 2, Sellin describes what he styles the Massebahs of el-Berith. He discovered some great blocks upon which stones were evidently set, so that like the temple of Jerusalem (and the newly discovered one at Byblus) the Shechemite temple was flanked by a couple of stones—in this case they are both of the same width, but of different depth. More interesting is the discovery near the altar in front of the temple of a pillar or rather a stela, 1.65 metres high by 1.45 broad. It was evidently the most significant of the objects of cults, and Sellin has no doubt that it is the Massebah by which Abimelech was crowned king of Shechem (Judges ix, 6). It may also be the stone mentioned in Joshua xxiv, 26, and even Gen. xxxiii, 20. In any case the place long continued to be venerated by Israelites even after the temple itself lay in ruins. Apropos of such stelae, reference may be made to the article by Przeworski, *Orient. Lit. Zeitung*, April, 1928, col. 233 *sqq.*, who discusses the use of such stones for bearing inscriptions or scenes.

Also in vol. I, G. Kampffmeyer writes rather critically on the attitude of the Arabs to the modern development of Palestine and

Transjordania. An account of the July, 1927, earthquake is given by M. Blanckenhorn. In vol. li, heft 1, Leo Picard writes at length on the geology of the Kishon plain. Kurt Gallin (vol. l) contributes a useful summary of the archaeological work in Palestine, with six plates, including a review of the Harvard account of its excavations at Samaria, and a survey of recent researches on the synagogues of Palestine. This he continues in vol. li, heft 2, with supplements by V. K. Müller on Samaria, and S. Klein on the synagogues. Here Müller writes on the archaeological evidence for the continued occupation of Samaria after its destruction by Sargon (722 B.C.). The work of building and rebuilding went on during the "Babylonian" and later Hellenistic age; the pottery is partly native, partly Cypriote, and then Greek (of the 5th century). Gallin's remarks upon the Byblus Phoenician inscription of Ahiiram are noteworthy. He comments, with the greatest reserve, on the art of the sarcophagus upon which it is inscribed. He compares the elements with objects known to be several centuries later than the 13th century date to which the inscription is attributed, and, with the utmost caution, suggests that it may be safer to think of the 10th-9th century, or at least not to take the earlier date as certain. I may add that in my discussion of the origin of the alphabet, in the *Camb. Anc. History*, vol. iii, ch. xix, the Byblus inscription was discovered in time to be taken into account. I felt somewhat sceptical on palaeographic grounds, but it seemed unreasonable to doubt the archaeological data, and even my proviso "if correctly ascribed to the 13th century B.C." (p. 423, note 1), was thought in some quarters to show unnecessary scepticism. The palaeographical problem is simply this: is this Byblus alphabet so much older than the common type of the 9th-8th century B.C., which is already beginning to split up? If well-known historical causes explain the divisions which we actually find subsequently (Phoenician, Aramaean, etc.), what historical causes explain the relative immobility of the alphabet from the 13th to the 9th-8th century, the period of actual sweeping internal changes? Meanwhile, the French *savants* have not ignored the various criticisms; and while Dussaud states that archaeological rather than palaeographical evidence made him choose the earlier date, a fresh examination and refutation of the criticisms is expected from the expert hand of M. Montet (see *Syria*, 1927, p. 365).

Apropos of the above references to Byblus, it may be observed that in the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, March-June, 1927, Von Bissing discusses the date of the more important finds that have been made there, and illustrates the difficulty of reaching approximate dates without a more careful analysis of art forms and types.

Of archaeological importance are two monographs on altars in the Old Testament. The one by Mr. Harold M. Wiener, in English, is a *Beigabe* to the *Orientalistische Literatur-zeitung* (1927). He concludes, "there are differences in the places of sacrifice in Israel: but these correspond to similar differences in the places of sacrifice among the surrounding peoples: and in every instance they are the results of the plain dictates of necessity or convenience operating in the formation of national customs" (p. 31). Elsewhere he points out that the introduction of incense into the ritual of Israel is not late, as the literary analysis of the Old Testament had suggested; and, in general, he considers that the archaeological evidence for the antiquity of certain cult usages and objects refutes the theories of composition and date of the ritual and other portions of the Bible. The truth, however, is that the archaeological evidence is placing old problems in a new light; it is proving the great antiquity of much that we had thought to be "Israelite"; none the less, the present writer, for example, finds it necessary to draw a clear distinction between the actual age of a belief or practice (if it can at all be fixed!) and the date of the biblical passage in which it is found, with the result that the fundamental hypotheses of Old Testament criticism appear to him as firmly established as ever! The second monograph is by Max Löhr, *Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testament* (Königsberg Gelehrte Gesellschaft, pub. by Niemeyer, Halle a/S.). It deals with the antiquity of incense-altars, though whether the objects that have been unearthed in Palestine were or should be called altars is quite another matter. It is interesting to refer to the posthumous volume of George Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (1925), pp. 142 *sqq.*, where he compares the so-called "altars" which archaeology has produced with the description of the Jewish altar of incense, and observes that the (? 5th century) age of the altar of incense must not be confused with the age of the introduction of incense into Jewish worship, which was much earlier. Those who knew Gray's characteristic caution will appreciate this volume—rather difficult reading though it is!—as it emphasizes the

necessity of avoiding the promiscuous combinations of archaeological material with the biblical evidence which are always so dangerously easy and do much harm to biblical study.

In bringing this rough and rapid summary to an end we cannot refrain from pointing out how rich and varied are the contributions which the spade and the brain are bringing to bear upon the inner history of the lands of the Bible. In almost every department of this great field research is being actively carried on. Whether archaeological work is supporting one school, party or line of study as against another is of small importance compared with the fact that archaeology is placing old problems in a new light and correcting too narrow views of biblical history and religion, on whatever side.

S. A. COOK.

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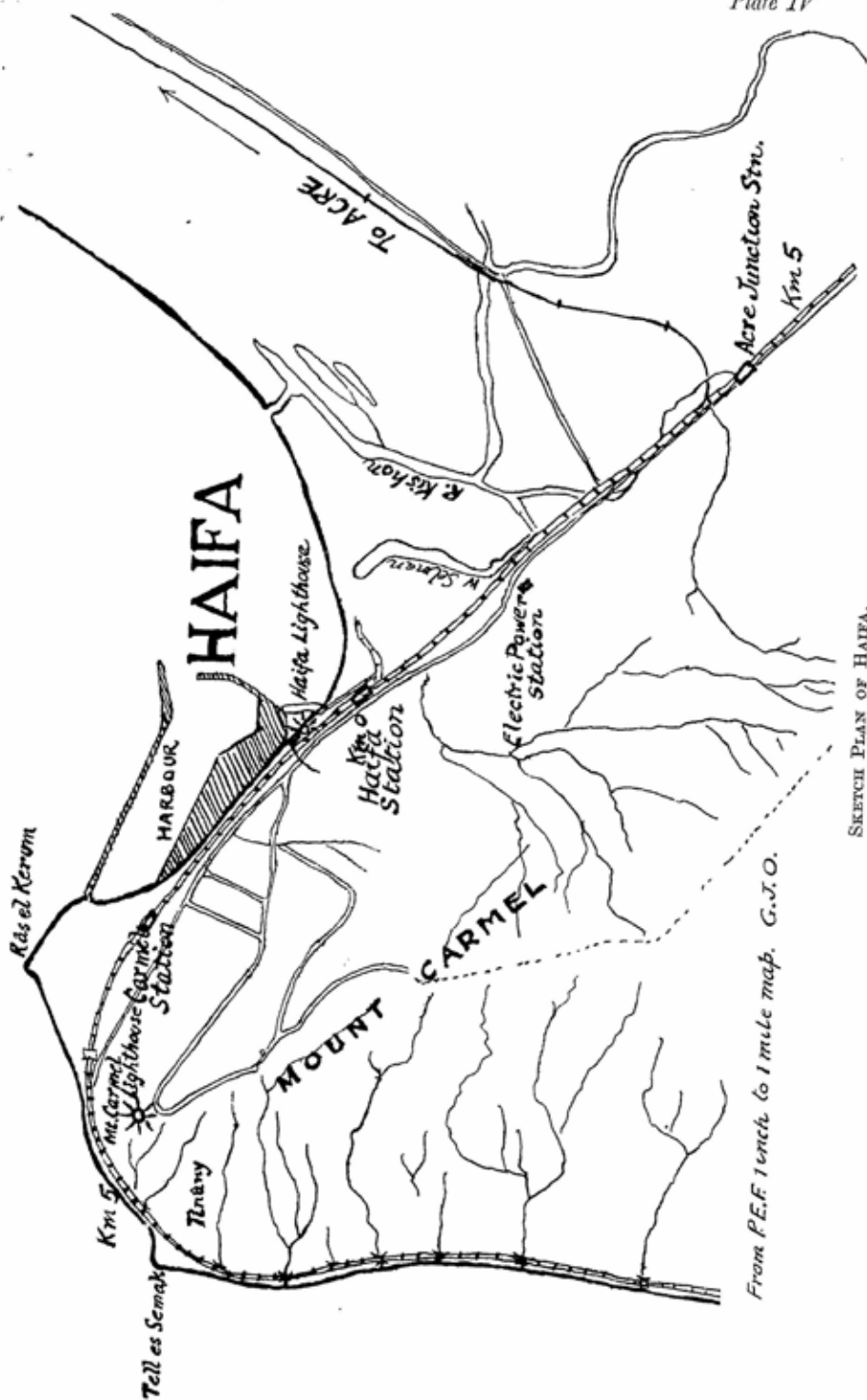
### THE NEW HARBOUR AT HAIFA.

THE Consulting Engineers, who are responsible for the plans of the new Haifa harbour, applied to the P.E.F. for permission to make use of one of their maps, and in return for this have most kindly put at our disposal the following summary of the nature of the scheme, together with a sketch plan:—

“The proposed works, as roughly indicated on the plan in your possession, consist of a main breakwater about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  kilometres long continuing the northern line of shore near the point of Ras el-Kerum and running in an easterly direction roughly parallel with the town front, and a lee breakwater,  $\frac{3}{4}$  kilometre long, formed by prolonging the existing railway jetty.

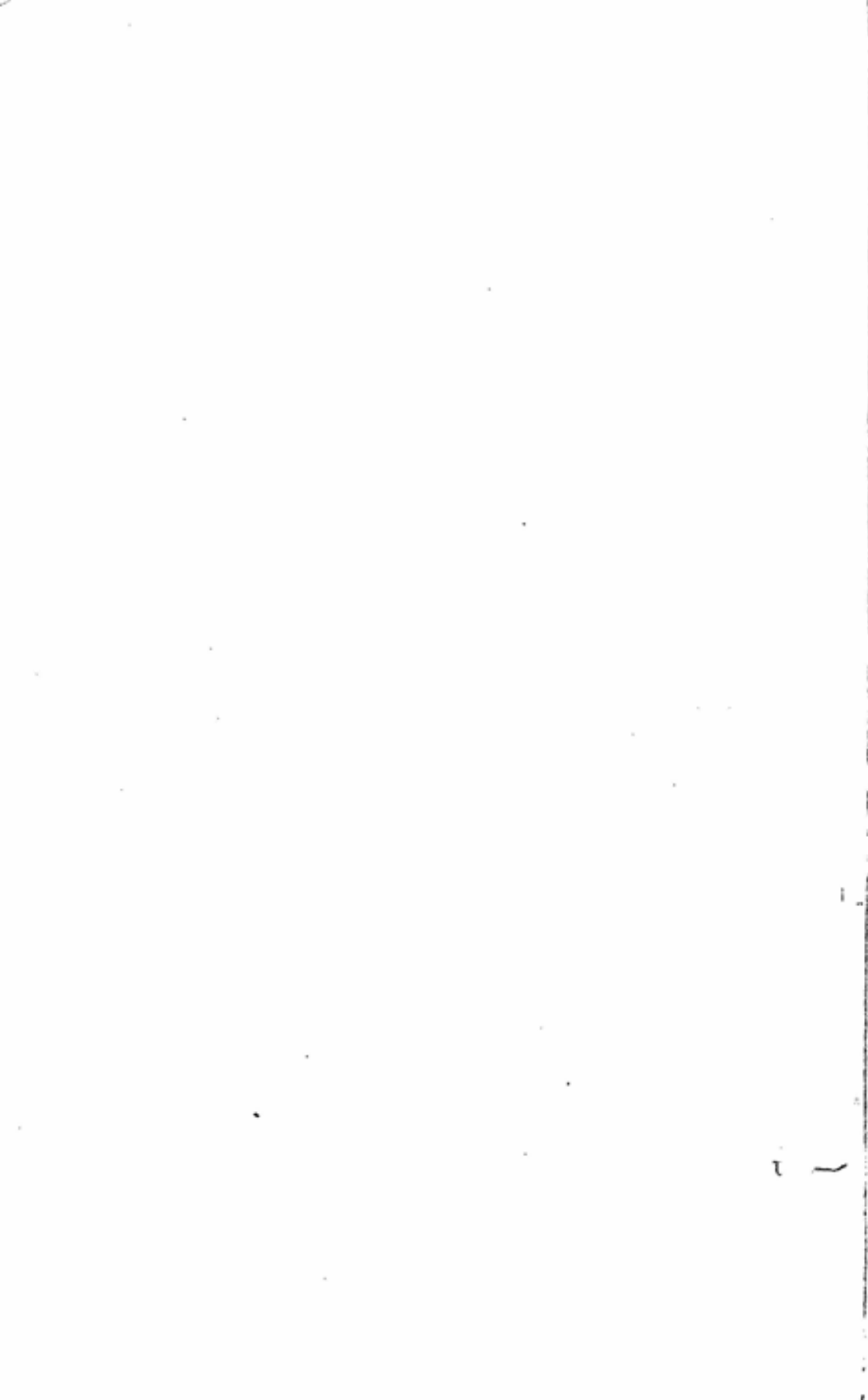
“An area equal to about three-quarters of the space thus enclosed is to be dredged to a depth of 30 feet, with special anchorage dredged to a depth of 36 feet for passenger liners engaged in the tourist traffic.

“The material thus obtained is to be used to reclaim a strip of land along the town water front. Wharfage for cargo steamers and lighters, with the necessary transit sheds, railways, etc., will be provided on this newly made land, and a considerable area will also become available for commercial and industrial development of the town of Haifa.”



SKETCH PLAN OF HAIFA.

From P.E.F. 1 inch to 1 mile map. G.J.O.





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